DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 256 860 UD 024 244

TITLE A Cultural and Educational Approach to the Problem of Violence. Report of the Committee on Culture and Education.
INSTITUTION Council of Europe, Strasbourg (France).
PUB DATE 83
NOTE 235p.; Rapporteurs: Mrs. Amer, MM. Aano, Atkinson and Mayoud. Document contains small, light print.
PUB TYPE Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Reports - General (140)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Adolescents; Aggression; *Athletics; Censorship; Conflict Resolution; Cultural Influences; *Educational Responsibility; Elementary Secondary Education; Films; Foreign Countries; *Mass Media Effects; Social Control; Teacher Role; Television Research; *Terrorism; *Violence
IDENTIFIERS *Europe

ABSTRACT

This Council of Europe report on the problem of violence opens with two recommendations: (1) on cultural and educational means of reducing violence; and (2) on a European Award for Non-Violence. An explanatory memorandum provides a general introduction, and explains the report's focus on terrorism, violence in the media, violence and sport, and positive approaches through education. The appendices, which make up about 75% of the document, include a summary of a hearing in Assisi, and the following papers by consultant experts: (1) About Violence and Aggression (F.J. Hacker); (2) The Viewpoint of Young People (L. Eberhard); (3) Discourse on Violence and the Media: Development, Dimensions, Deficiencies, Directions: (I. Heiskanen); (4) The BBC's Policy on the Coverage of Violence (R. Francis); (5) The Swedish Video Commission (S. Svard); (6) Television Violence and Adolescent Boys (W. Belson); (7) Violence and Films (D. Meccoli); (8) A Positive Approach Through Formal Education (R.C.R. Blackledge); (9) Violence and School: A Teacher's Point of View (L. Urben); and (10) The Problem of Violence in a Christian Perspective (W. Schweitzer). Supplementary papers submitted by observers included the following: Is Photography Capable of Violence? ( V. Coucke); Note on Violence and the School (A. Drubay); and Teaching of Conflict Resolution (B. Stapleton). Submissions from the Holy See, the U.S. National Coalition on Television Violence, the National Viewers and Listeners Association (United Kingdom), and the Quaker Council for European Affairs are also included. And finally supporting material is presented, followed by a list of contributors. (RDN)

**********
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
**********

ED256860

COUNCIL OF EUROPE

CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE

PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY

Doc. 5013 - S

Professor M. Harry Passow
Teachers College
Columbia University
New York, New York 10027

# A CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF VIOLENCE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

✓ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

## Report of the Committee on Culture and Education

Rapporteurs :
Mrs Anér, MM. Aano, Atkinson and Mayoud

UD024344

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Council of Europe
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

STRASBOURG
1983

Doc. 5013 - E

# A CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF VIOLENCE

Report of the
Committee on Culture and Education

Rapporteurs: Mrs Anèr, MM. Aano, Atkinson and Mayoud

Council of Europe
Strasbourg 1983

CONTENTS


| | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| Recommendation 963 | | 3 |
| Recommendation 964 | | 9 |
| Explanatory Memorandum | | |
| A. | General Introduction (Mrs Anèr) | 13 |
| B. | Terrorism (Mr Mayoud) | 17 |
| C. | Violence in the media (Mrs Anèr) | 22 |
| D. | Violence and Sport (Mr Atkinson) | 30 |
| | Addendum: Monte Carlo Resolution | 36 |
| E. | Positive Approaches: Education (Mrs Anèr) | 41 |
| F. | European Award (Mr Aano) | 45 |
| G. | Overall Conclusions (Mrs Anèr) | 46 |
| Appendices | | |
| 1. | Summary of the Hearing held in Assisi | 49 |
| 2. | Summary of an exchange of views with Mr Blin and Mr Stapleton | 82 |
| 3. | Statement by Mr Calamandrei | 87 |
| 4. | Papers presented in Assisi by consultant experts: | |
| 4.1. | About Violence and Agression (Dr. F.J. Hacker) | 90 |
| 4.2. | The Viewpoint of Young People (L. Eberhard) | 99 |
| 4.3. | Discourse on Violence and the Media: Development, dimensions, deficiencies, directions (Prof. I. Heinkanen) | 103 |
| 4.4. | The BBC's Policy on the Coverage of Violence (R. Francis) | 123 |
| 4.5. | The Swedish Video Commission (S. Svärd) | 131 |
| 4.6. | Television Violence and Adolescent Boys (Dr W. Belson) | 139 |
| 4.7. | Violence and Films (D. Meccoli) | 146 |
| 4.8. | A Positive Approach through Formal Education (R.C.R. Blackledge) | 149 |
| 4.9. | Violence and School: A Teacher's Point of View (L. Urben) | 154 |
| 4.10 | The Problem of Violence in a Christian Perspective (Prof. Dr. W. Schweitzer) | 161 |
| 5. | Supplementary papers submitted in Assisi by Observers | |
| 5.1. | Is Photography capable of Violence? (V. Coucke, Europhot) | 166 |
| 5.2. | Note on Violence and the School (A. Drubay, FIPESO) | 169 |
| 5.3. | Contribution of the Holy See | 171 |

5.4. Submission by the US National Coalition on Television Violence (T. Radecki, NCTV) 177

5.5. Submission by the National Viewers and Listeners Association, U[illegible] (NVLA) and supplementary submission (M. Whitehouse) 188

5.6. Submission by the Quaker Council for European Affairs (A. Curle, N. McGeorge, QCEA) 195

5.7. Teaching of Conflict Resolution (B. Stapleton, QCEA) 202

6. Supporting material considered:

6.1. Conclusions and extracts of the Recommendations of the Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry 204

6.2. Recommendations from the CDCC Symposium on the Secondary School and the mass media 221

6.3. Declaration on Preparation for Life 224

6.4. Unemployment and Violence (Ch. de Montlibert) 228

6.5. Architecture and Violence (N. Tummers) 230

7. List of contributors

a. Members of the Committee on Culture and Education and other Assembly members involved 234

b. Consultant Experts and Observers 235

c. Secretariat 236

# RECOMMENDATION 963 (1983) (1)

## on cultural and educational means of reducing violence

The Assembly,

A. Introduction

1. Having noted the report of its Committee on Culture and Education (Doc. 5013);

2. Taking note of the Hearing on violence held by that Committee in Assisi from 1 to 3 September 1982 on the occasion of the 800th anniversary of the birth of St Francis;

3. Gravely concerned at the occurence of violence in modern society, in particular terrorism, but also delinquency, vandalism and rape;

4. Suspicious in principle of the justifications advanced for direct physical violence, but recognising that those in authority on certain occasions have to use varying acceptable degrees of force for the protection of society, of lives and of property;

5. Believing that violence in modern society is related to the stresses exercised on human nature by external factors of a social, economic and cultural character;

6. Recalling the report of its Committee on Culture and Education on war toys (Doc. 4742) and the Resolution adopted on this subject by the European Parliament on 13 September 1982;

./.

(1) Text adopted by the Assembly on 28 January 1983 (28th Sitting)

B. Regarding terrorism

7. Recalling its Recommendation 916 (1981) and 941 (1982) on the defence of democracy against terrorism in Europe;

8. Considering that terrorism is a permanent challenge to fundamental democratic values, and may well prompt states to take legislative, judicial or administrative measures (such as keeping records on individuals for the purposes of prevention, restrictions on personal freedoms, etc.) that may pervert the very character of democracy;

9. Aware of the fact that combating terrorism may, because of the growth of politically motivated crimes and offences, create imbalances in the arsenal of penalties, and disrupt prison systems;

10. Convinced that the symbolic, spectacular or revolting nature of terrorism and the exaggerated reflection sometimes given of it by the media helps it achieve a social impact out of all proportion to the resources it deploys and even to its ultimate goal, something which distinguishes it from ordinary violence;

11. Noting that terrorism imitates the methods, means and languages of warfare without triggering off the usual collective defence mechanisms;

12 Conscious that terrorism is moreover a factor of major cultural destabilisation and can undermine the individual's confidence in the values, interests or institutions under attack;

13. Considering that measures to suppress terrorism must be based on an analysis of its causes,

14. Recommends that the Committe of Ministers invite member governments:

(a) to take the necessary steps to alert communities in which terrorism is breeding to the serious threat it presents to democracy and freedoms;

(b) to make available in all member countries a "White Paper on democracy and terrorism", a work which would be prepared by the Council of Europe and based on the European Convention on Human Rights, international agreements and member states' constitutions, and whose purpose would be to demonstrate the fact that terrorism is a major European problem imperilling democracy and to proclaim Europe's determination to combat political violence;

(c) to foster studies of the cultural and social causes of the growth of terrorism by giving thought to the setting up of an independent European Foundation for the study of terrorism;

C. Regarding the media

15. Concerned at the increasing tendency towards emphasis on violence in the media, and in particular on its portrayal in the visual media (television, video, film, advertising, comics, or still photography);

16. Conscious that prolonged exposure to such media violence can have a direct cumulative effect on young children and a minority of adults, and a growing effect on the accepted values of society;

17. Welcoming the recent declaration by the Committee of Ministers on freedom of expression (1982); and recalling Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights (1950) and the United Nations Convention for the Repression of Obscene Publications (1947);

18. Concerned that artistic freedom should not be used as an alibi for purely commercial interests;

19. Believing that national legislative or voluntary restrictions are becoming increasingly impracticable in the light of direct broadcasting by satellite and other technological developments and drawing attention to the fact that the production, distribution and sale of media software has already progressed beyond the control of individual states;

20. Stressing the urgency of co-ordinated action involving European states, broadcasting institutions and commercial audio-visual concerns,

21. Recommends that the Committee of Ministers:

(a) request the broadcasting organisations to co-operate on the elaboration of codes of conduct or guidelines covering the portrayal of violence, including terrorism, that can apply to as broad an area in Europe as possible, and where necessary provide autonomous supplementary structures to enable the effective elaboration of such common codes;

(b) encourage the elaboration of similar guidelines for other media such as films, written material, video and new forms of visual media that may be developed;

(c) encourage the establishment in each member state of (a) independent monitoring of broadcast and other visual media through viewer associations and other bodies, (b) closer consultation between the public and the programme makers, and (c) public accountability for media content whether to parliament, to the courts or to public opinion, and envisage at a subsequent stage closer co-ordination between member states on these aspects;

(d) arrange for the regular publication of an up-to-date survey of existing guidelines, legislation and administrative structures regarding the media in all member states;

(e) ask the governments of member states:

i. to sponsor further independent research into the effects of the media;

ii. to consider introducing legislation to ensure that media violence involving individuals is condemned alongside incitement to racial hatred or obscenity;

iii. to take the appropriate measures to ensure that broadcasting companies give particular attention to means of protecting sensitive people, especially children, from prolonged exposure to media violence;

iv. to make clear to the press and to the audiovisual media their special responsibility as regards the dissemination of models of political violence, and therefore make proper understanding of the effects of the media a necessary part of the qualification of all personnel employed in the media field;

D. Regarding sport

22. Concerned with the continued presence of violence in sport and with the growth of violence associated with sport on local, national and international levels;

23. Welcoming the action already taken by the sports federations to reduce violence in sport by modifying the rules of individual and team games with special reference to violent sports such as boxing, and by increasing the authority of refereeing;

24. Questioning, however, the efficacity of existing sanctions, in particular in top-level professional sport, and believing that responsibility lies as much with trainers and management as with individual players;

25. Believing that concerted action by the public authorities and the sporting bodies is necessary to control violence associated with sport and that the media could help in this action, and stressing the positive role to be played by responsible supporters' clubs;

26. Welcoming the activity of the International Alliance for Non-Violent Sport and for Fair-Play, and noting the results of the Symposium organised by the Alliance in Monte-Carlo on 16-17 November 1982;

27. Recalling the Council of Europe's European Sport for All Charter, and reaffirming its belief in the ideals and values of sport, especially Olympic sport as expressed in Resolution 738 (1980) on the Olympic Games and the outlook for their future;

28. Believing that it is necessary to reaffirm and re-establish these positive values of sport and fair play as a direct contribution to solving the problem of violence in modern society;

29. Recalling the resolution on violence associated with sport adopted by the Conference of European Ministers responsible for Sport in London 1978, and hoping that the Ministers concerned will reconsider urgently the question of violence and sport;

30. Recommends that the Committee of Ministers:

(a) ask the Steering Committee for the Development of Sport to give consideration to effective European intergovernmental co-operation on violence and sport, including the elaboration of a European Convention, or other forms of European agreement on the introduction of specific legislation in member states;

(b) co-ordinate such activity with other sectors through the steering committees responsible for mass media, culture and education, and criminal matters;

(c) support the Campaign of the International Alliance for Non-Violent Sport and for Fair Play.

E. Positive approaches and in particular education

31. Stressing the power of example of parent, teacher, or state, and noting also the role played by the churches, youth organisations and other disinterested institutions in encouraging young people to participate in social goals;

32. Underlining the need for schools constantly to readjust to the changing patterns of modern society and noting the conclusions reached by the Council for Cultural Co-operation Project on "preparation for life";

33. Insisting on the importance of the proper preparation of children to understand the messages put across by the media, and noting the positive contribution of the media in presenting society as condemning and rejecting violence;

34. Wishing to ensure that the systematic teaching of non-violent behaviour is an integral part of all compulsory education, and welcoming the proposal by the Quaker Council for European Affairs to conduct a study on existing models in Europe of such education;

35. Hoping that the Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education will pay close attention to the contribution education can make to encouraging constructive, non-violent behaviour;

36. Recommends that the Committee of Ministers

(a) associate the Council for Cultural Co-operation with study of models of education for non-violent behaviour and co-operation;

(b) invite member governments, or through them the local or regional authorities responsible for education, to:

i. review the content of existing school and university curricula in order to avoid thoughtless glorification of conflict and violence, and introduce in schools the systematic teaching of non-violent behaviour;

ii. encourage the introduction in certain European universities of the study of terrorism;

iii. make available for use in schools, for example in the context of history lessons, material highlighting the odious and regressive nature of political violence and denouncing the ideologies that provoke and manipulate such violence;

iv. make it possible for young people to opt out of experiments involving violence to living animals should they object to these on grounds of conscience, without prejudice to their subsequent careers;

v. ensure that schools adhere to non-violent approaches with regard to their own internal problems and that they avoid any recourse to violent punishment;

vi. encourage real participation in school life by allowing the gradual development of pupils responsibility and the continued involvement of parents, and by permitting the school and its community to fulfil its indispensable educational role;

vii. introduce into the school curriculum the critical understanding of the media and provide the necessary in-service and preparatory training of teachers;

viii. ensure a proper place for sport (both individual and team sports) in schools, with particular stress on the principles of fair-play.

RECOMMENDATION 964 (1983)
on a European Award for Non-Violence (1)

The Assembly,

1. Gravely concerned at the present degree of violence and at the many levels on which this occurs;

2. Recalling its Recommendation ... on violence and earlier texts adopted on the fight against terrorism both by the Assembly and the European Parliament;

3. Recalling proposals made by Senator Calamandrei to the parliamentary hearing on violence held in Assisi on the occasion of the 800th anniversary of the birth of St. Francis;

4. Recognising the impact of the Nobel Peace Prize awarded by an independent committee elected by the Parliament of Norway;

5. Welcoming also the contribution made to the furtherance of non-violence by non-governmental organisations;

6. Wishing to associate the Council of Europe with these ideals and in particular with the positive promotion of non-violence in democratic society;

7. Recalling the cultural vocation of the Council of Europe and believing that there is considerable room within the field of culture and education for creative and constructive action in favour of non-violence

8. Recommends that the Committee of Ministers

a. institute a European Award for Non-Violence on the model of the Nobel Peace Prize, to be given every other year for outstanding initiatives in the positive promotion of non-violence through creative works in the literary, audiovisual, artistic or educational fields;

b. arrange for the establishment of a special fund for this award, open also to endowments from independent sources, and sufficient to cover not only the administration of the award, and the award itself, but also the wide publication of related biennial reports.

---

(1) Text adopted by the Assembly on 28 January 1983 (28th Sitting)

EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM

A. GENERAL INTRODUCTION by Mrs Anèr

The Committee on Culture and Education is for practical reasons concentrating on only certain aspects of the problem of violence in what it is now presenting to the Assembly. The aspects to be covered will be violence and the media, violence and sport, terrorism and finally the "affirmative" role of education, that is through the teaching of non-violent problem solving, of a non-violent way of life in general, or more positively, and simply, of co-operation.

This composite report can be seen as a contribution to the long-standing concern of the Council of Europe for this problem. The European Convention on Human Rights, the Convention on Terrorism, and numerous Assembly reports on terrorism and on democracy are already well known, in particular the Conference held in 1980 on the defence of democracy against terrorism in Europe.

Little attention has however been so far paid to the positive approach to the problem of violence, it is too often seen as a problem to be counteracted, as a cause for rising to the defence of democracy. Campaigns against violence run the risk of emulating the very violence, at least in verbal terms, that they seek to resist. This is not perhaps surprising however since violence in one form or another seems to be omnipresent in our everyday life: in what we find in the media, in books, in sport, and in education as well as in the violence of real life and terrorism.

There is however something basically wrong if we can recognise this situation and tolerate it.

This report is therefore aimed essentially at stimulating positive thinking not so much on means of combating violence, but of encouraging co-operation. It is addressed at the media, at the field of sport and above all at education.

Thanks to the general hospitality of the local authorities, the Committee on Culture and Education held a hearing to prepare this report in Assisi on 1-3 September 1982 (see Appendix). This venue was purposely chosen in order to mark the 8th centenary of the birth of St. Francis of Assisi and to establish a link between our own work and other constructive efforts throughout the world towards peace and co-operation. Further discussions have since taken place (see Appendix), and no doubt more could be held. This report is not however a final statement, but rather, as has been said, a contribution.

In view of the seriousness of the subject we prefer to bring it as soon as possible to the attention of the Assembly.

Two basic questions about violence in our society have been raised and tentatively answered in these hearings of experts and other discussions. Is violence an inevitable part of man's psychological

make-up, and is all violence equally blameable whoever should perpetrate it?

On the first question, there was more or less agreement that - as Professor Hacker put it - "the disposition for agressive behaviour is biologically anchored but mobilised only under certain external conditions that are largely determined by educational and institutional arrangements." Different societies handle anxiety or frustration and control aggression in different ways, and while there is hardly any known society that is completely non-aggressive there are nevertheless clear degrees of violent societies. Western Europe is for instance rather less violent than Iran. The fact that a war between France and Germany, or between Germany and England, is now unthinkable so shortly after 1945, is an example, and a rather remarkable one, of what can actually be achieved in deflating aggression in a constructive way.

However, this obviously does not mean that no violence remains in Western Europe. A good deal of the debate with the experts centred round the question: Should we judge violence by the State, for example by the police, by the same standards as we judge violence by hooligans and terrorists and all the degrees of violence between them? There was consensus that police violence, or what some of us prefer to call "use of force by the police", must be accepted to a certain degree, and that tolerance is not a matter of spinelessness but of firmness. However, all violence, all acts of violence, can be justified in some way and by somebody, and it is necessary to be very wary of these justifications and to keep them constantly under scrutiny.

"Structural violence" in the sense of youth unemployment, discrimination against women and ethnic or racial minorities etc., is a part of violence in society that cannot be overlooked. Expressed in an epigrammatic way: "Violence is the fruit of unlived life". Such a view leads to placing considerable emphasis on all political measures that give citizens, and especially young citizens, a greater right to participate in decisions.

One very clear message to come out of the Assisi was this: violence is the easy way out of problem situations. Alternative solutions, though preferable, are more complex. Why do we hit our children (or wives, or opponents) instead of talking to them? Because it takes less time.

There are certain other considerations that relate to violence in modern society.

The effect of rising expectations. Violence in real life is not today, as it was before (in all revolutions of the world), a result of deprivation and poverty in any physical sense. Rather, the people, and especially the young people in the First World who engage in violence, are better fed and educated than the mass of people have ever been before. But they are at the same time exposed to far greater expectations of social, economic and cultural goods than any generation has ever before. Even unemployment takes on a peculiar horror in the modern welfare state, precisely because it is

impossible to imagine it caused by impersonal economic forces while there is so much plenty and so much security around.

Loss of legitimacy. All levels of authority, from the family to the U.N., have suffered a loss of legitimacy and are losing it ever more. This is the obverse of a contemporary revolution in the feeling for human dignity and the right of every individual to his own conscience and responsibility.

Access to danger. At the same time, more people than ever before have access to more dangerous and powerful tools and weapons. In the "good old days", farmers' boys raced each other on horses or in waggons. They certainly broke their necks sometimes, but not with the frequency and the danger to others when cars and motorcycles replace horses. If you run amok with a knife, you never kill as many as you do with a machine gun or a plastic bomb.

Exploitation. Obviously, a large part is played by deliberate exploitation of all these trends by legal or illegal, profit-conscious organisations. Today, they are much more able to work on a larger scale and far more swiftly than the corresponding organisations in earlier phases of our society.

The long childhood. Youth, as an age between infancy and proper adulthood, is almost an invention of the last century. Never have human beings been kept out of productive (and reproductive) work for so many years of their best time. Also, these young people have never been so strong, so healthy, and so sexually mature (that is to say, they have never become so biologically mature at such an early age). It is hardly to be wondered at that energies, which in other ages and cultures have been spent in hard physical work, fighting, or childbearing, tend to become used in anti-social ways since there are so few social ways for them. At the same time, learning an immense amount of skills is necessary for survival, and today these skills are chiefly taught in schools. The difficulty is to satisfy all the other psychological needs of young humans, while trying to satisfy their need for knowledge.

Finally, there is a contradiction in our own democratic ideals: we want to defend freedom and be intolerant towards the abuses of freedom. The worst of these abuses is the use of violence, when used in illegal ways and contrary to the basic human rights enshrined in conventions of the United Nations and the Council of Europe.

Against this background, what does the Council of Europe want to do about violence in our society, and what can it do?

Before entering on the detailed aspects of our work, I must add what I think is the most important preliminary point of all.

We look on our epoch as one marked in a peculiar way by violence. This is probably not historically true - we tend to forget facts about wife-beating, duelling, beating of servants in a perfectly legal way, the generalised murder of unwanted infants, etc., which have marked most historical eras. We, of course, have our own

violence. But we also have our own peculiar strengths. All known cultures have fought wars: even kings taught by the Buddha and Christ. But no civilisation has marched in peace demonstrations, except ours. No other civilisation has set up a court for the protection of individual human rights against the State. No other civilisation has campaigned to protect animals. These examples, that could be multiplied, are the positive side of that immense longing by idividuals to be masters of their own conscience, and to be taken seriously by all human authorities. These longings are often distorted, often misunderstood, often abused, and of course often only an alibi. But they nevertheless exist. And they are our best allies in the fight against meaningless or vindictive violence, because they give the human being something to live for.

That coping with non-social, destructive and meaningless violence is a complicated task is a view we would all surely share. This report aims at identifying certain constructive steps that can be taken, now, regarding the media, sport and education.

B. TERRORISM by Mr Mayoud

Any study of terrorism presupposes identifying the characteristics which distinguish it, or make it different, from ordinary violence.

The motives flaunted by the perpetrators are not grossly evil but political, in the widest sense of the term (ideological, nationalistic, irredentist, even religious). Acts of wanton vandalism and maliciousness form a separate category, as do acts attributable to pathological causes.

In all societies affected by terrorism the persons practising it represent an infinitesimal proportion of the total population. On the other hand, no one is secure from a collective act of terrorism, particularly one committed in an urban environment. Essentially venal in nature, ordinary crime is directed against more specifically economic targets. This imbalance induces typical attitudes: fatalism on the part of the masses, and a sense of omnipotence in the perpetrators.

It has been claimed, without exaggeration, that "without communication there would be no terrorism". It is precisely in the publicity given to it by the media that a terrorist act often finds its justification. This condition of terrorism is thus satisfied to the full in societies that are both highly developed (importance of information) and free (uncensored information). That being so, the European democracies are exceedingly vulnerable.

To a greater extent than any other, terrorist violence draws its partisans from among intellectuals, because of their capacity to be both theorists and agents.

These four characteristics combine to give terrorism in European democracies a primordial cultural dimension and, over and above the repressive aspect, call for thorough-going action in the educational sphere.

o

o o

The difficulty of eradicating all justifications for terrorism from European consciences is rooted in the history of the Old Continent, a history which is particularly rich in illustrations and has sometimes glorified terrorism, as in the case of resistance to occupation by a foreign power: hence the distinction between "good" and "bad" terrorism and the difficulty of drawing any irrefutable boundary between them.

Moreover, the terrorist phenomenon in Western Europe must on no account be put on a par with the terrorism practised in many Third World countries (Middle East, Latin America), where its causes are largely racial and economic, unless it is being waged in retaliation for state terrorism.

In our approach to present-day European terrorism we must therefore beware of mistaken historical and geographical comparisons, particularly at a time when the place occupied by history and geography in the educational curricula and in the socio-cultural context is steadily diminishing.

The unprecedented effort made by the international community since 1945 to promote the fundamental values of the human rights, of respect for life and the advancement of the individual is not being followed up as it ought to be by national education systems. Unable to remedy school-children's disaffection for the teaching of civics in France, the national education authority removed it from the curriculum and no replacement has so far been found for it.

C

o o

Even if perpetrated by a mere handful of individuals, terrorism can flourish only on favourable soil. Its emergence therefore involves the development of entire generations of young people.

What has come to be known in the last ten years as the "crisis" is a twofold process involving an economic and a moral crisis.

A detailed analysis of the causes of the economic crisis is outside the scope of this report. Suffice it to point out that this crisis has reconstituted, inside our advanced societies, new pockets of poverty and marginality resistant to all social action because imperfectly analysed at political level: the ravages of youth unemployment, the prolonged ostracism experienced by second-generation immigrants, the dilapidation of whole areas of urban housing, ultimately provoking occupation by "squatters" and a resurgence of veritable "ghettos", the desocialising influence of the growing consumption of alcohol and hard drugs on thousands of adolescents - all these are factors creating the objective conditions for a new kind of violence which can be diverted to terrorism if the recruiters so decide: they need merely make the violence of the "system" against the individual the rallying point for those seeking an outlet from despair.

This process itself stems from a moral decline, the breakdown of traditional forms of solidarity. It is now commonplace but justifiable to cite the failure of swelling urban populations to find a balance equivalent to that of rural communities, the weakening of the family unit, and the exacerbation of conflicts between generations. Generally speaking, the traditional areas on which the perfectly natural conflicts between individuals used to be settled are shrinking and leaving a breeding ground for violence in the entire social sector.

A special word must be said on the subject of universities. The massive accession of the new generations, whatever their origins, to what were formerly exclusive, élitist and privileged precincts has revolutionised these institutions. At the same time - though there is

no cause and direct relationship - technological development has been detracting from the various forms of traditional higher education and increasing the number of misfits in the economic system.

University is the place par excellence for theorising and philosophising. The existence of a host of intellectuals with no hope of suitable professional openings, but with an exceptional amount of free time on their hands, in a legally protected framework ("university franchises") could not but encourage the creation of those intellectual, and subsequently logistic, platforms that constitute the mainstay of any terrorist organisation.

o

o o

The enormous danger that terrorism represents for West-European socio-cultural systems puts them to the test as democracies and challenges the value consensus upon which they are founded.

This test is twofold. In the first place it is liable to reveal the democratic states' feeble capacity to retaliate and hence their fragility, resulting ultimately in a loss of credit and authority. It is also liable in turn, to elicit a riposte in the form of legislative, judicial and administrative measures radically altering the very character of democracy (ostensible increase in forces of law and order, for example, preventive establishment of files containing data on individuals, or certain restrictions on humain rights and freedoms).

By the radical nature of its methods and its vaunted aims, terrorism is a factor of major cultural destabilisation in that it is liable to shake citizens' confidence in the values, interests and institutions contested. Whether the punishment is too light or too severe, there is a risk of its partially justifying the terrorist act which provoked it.

Owing to the symbolic, spectacular or outrageous nature of terrorism, its social impact is invariably enormous and quite out of proportion to the means employed or the principles at issue.

It is the symbolic aspect which differentiates terrorist violence from ordinary violence. Whereas it is principally the way in which works of fiction represent it that makes it pernicious, though, essentially, we are witnessing a channelling or transfer of man's innate violence, terrorist violence relies mainly on the wide dissemination of televised information, which reports it integrally.

The revolting character of blind indiscriminate slaughter (Olympic Games in Munich, Bologna station, Rue des Rosiers) is itself ambiguous, for one form of terrorism may cover another. The abhorrence manifested at a few odious acts tends to lessen the indignation aroused by more specific and better dosed forms of terrorism. An example is the murder of carefully selected persons, to whose functions and opinions the media give due prominence, and where an attempt is made to establish wherein the victims' "guilt" lay. This applies equally to terrorism which, because it is directed avowedly against property and not against persons, benefits from being compared with murderous acts.

Terrorism is a form of war employing war-like methods, means and language, but it does not trigger the customary self-defence mechanisms.

Almost 40 years after the end of the Second World War terrorism appears in the European collective unconscious, accustomed to perpetually recurring conflicts, as a kind of substitute product, as a dreaded but almost natural phenomenon, which explains the passive acceptance of it.

For, unlike the open wars which have divided the European peoples in the past, terrorist aggression does not mobilise the energies of the communities attacked, consolidating their internal cohesion. Its effects are more comparable to civil war, even though it does not lead to civil conflict: collective disintegration and inhibition, weakening of the perception of external dangers.

o

o o

The various aspects just described hardly inspire optimism. If the chain of causes leading to the activation of terrorist groups is a slow, deep, underground phenomenon, the uncoiling, by socio-educational means, of that vicious spiral cannot but be slow and demand the deployment and co-ordination, at European level, of enormous material and financial means.

As experience has shown, alas, it may well take a savage burst of attacks, the culmination of the process described, really to bring home the dangers of terrorism to citizens in the Council of Europe states and make them consent to pay the price that needs to be paid.

This personal conviction must not lead to fatalism. The proposals put forward in this report do not exhaust the catalogue of possible measures but are designed primarily to draw public attention to the central role of educational measures in combating terrorism.

The recommendation it is proposed submitting to the Committee of Ministers may be summed up as follows:

1. In order to bring home to communities where terrorism is spreading the grave threat it represents to democracy and freedoms:

- to disseminate, for information purposes, in all Council of Europe member states, a brochure, perhaps entitled: "White paper: Democracy versus terrorism", produced under the signature of all the governments of member states and put on sale. Based on the Declaration of Human Rights, international texts and member states' constitutions, the brochure would show that terrorism, liable to affect any of the states, is a major European issue imperilling democracy.

It would affirm the member states' determination to resist political violence and the governments' intention to undermine its foundations by resolute social action: fight for full employment, improvement of housing, greater concern for fringe groups.

- to introduce, for education purposes, again in the form of a document signed by all the member states, a text to be expounded annually in schools, eg during history lessons, and containing, in addition to the previously mentioned elements:

. a selection of theoretical texts extolling political violence and refuted by other quotations,

. a chronological commentary on (state or individual) terrorism down through history, bringing out its odious and regressive character and denouncing the ideologies which provoke and manipulate it.

2. In order to deprive terrorism of its spectacular character:

- in the media, to use a series of detailed examples to alert press, radio and TV staff in charge of information to their special responsibility in the diffusion of types of political violence;

- to produce a European code of conduct for journalists and encourage voluntary adherence to it and self-limitation of the legitimate tendency to give prominence to a spectacular terrorist act.

3. In order to promote a study of the cultural and social causes of the spread of terrorism:

- to endow and support a European Foundation for the Study of Terrorism, functioning independently of the member states and serving to collect studies and organise discussions between persons from different walks of life conversant with the problem;

- to study the possibility of introducing courses on terrorism in certain European universities.

C. VIOLENCE AND THE MEDIA by Mrs Anér

1. Introduction

What seems to distinguish our present-day violence in industrialised societies from that in other societies or in our own at an earlier time, is for instance: The role of mass media.

People have always watched violence (public torture and execution) and have always told each other popular stories about violence (from the Iliad onwards). Modern mass media have two particular characteristics in this context: they communicate in one direction only, with no feedback of any kind from the spectators or listeners; and their quantity of pictures and stories is out of proportion to anything seen before, while at the same time being more than ever before disjointed and unstructured. The news stories are practically always bereft of any real or understandable context: fiction also tends to introduce violence for violence's sake in a very confusing and unexplained manner. The reasons for the vast amount of violence present in both these kinds of media-material is chiefly to be sought in the war for professional prestige among producers, and in the fact that the pictorial medium (television) is very badly adapted to any content other than violent dramatic happenings.

2. Research results on the effects of media violence

Researchers today are more or less in agreement on the risks of media violence:

- Violence in media can lead to aggression.

- Violence in media can, in the long term, form new patterns of behaviour. The viewer adopts the behaviour seen on TV, the screen, video etc. This has a gradual effect on changing values in society as a whole.

- Violence in media can lead to people no longer reacting against violence and identifying with the victim.

- Violence in media can lead to lowering the viewer's threshold for accepting violence.

- Violence in media, especially in news programmes, can lead to viewers grossly exaggerating the amount of violence there actually is in their own every-day environment.

These research results are not to be interpreted as if all viewers, or all child viewers, are affected to the same extent, nor that these effects are to be ascribed only to violence in media. Research in Sweden and in other countries has shown that violence in media chiefly affects children who are already insecure and who have difficulties in their contacts with adults and other children. Such

children for one thing watch television more than others. It would seem reasonable to suppose that they also are already exposed to more violence in real life than other children.

One particular interesting piece of research, the Belson report, investigated 1565 randomly chosen London boys and their reactions to television violence (W.A. Belson, Television Violence and the Adolescent Boy, Gower Publishing Co., London 1978. See also Mr. Belson's submission to the Assisi hearing: Appendix). The findings can be summarised as follows:

- The effect of exposure to television violence is to "reduce such inhibitions as have been built up ... against being violent", i.e. wearing down the effects of training or conditioning.

- There appears to be a "margin of safety" in the presentation of television violence. This does not apply to lesser forms of violence. But as far as serious violence is concerned, broadcasters should act within this margin by presenting only such violence as is necessary in the interests of responsible and realistic broadcasting (for example when reporting on current events).

The Belson report found that the amounts of TV violence consumed by the boys studied accounted for at least 12% of the variance in the amount of violence committed. Studies from the US (where more TV is viewed than anywhere else and with more violent content) show, for instance, that in a group of middle-class adult males in California there was a 37% decrease in hurtful behaviour around the home in one single week when violent programming was eliminated. In 67 studies reviewed by Dr. Scott Andison in 1976, more than 3 out of 4 of them showed increased violence or aggression due to violent programmes. The average effect in these studies was that these programmes produced a 25% rise in violent or aggressive behaviour. Other studies have shown that violence in comedies, or violence which is used by the "good guys" in a drama and thus is highly enjoyed and approved by the viewers, is just as efficient in promoting non-social aggressive behaviour as other kinds of fiction violence (for the US references see Appendix).

Violence is not, as is sometimes claimed, necessarily linked to capitalism. One of the experts heard by the Committee pointed out that in East European countries, media violence was used to enhance patriotism and that this could be linked to the aggressive attitude shown to foreigners in real life in these countries (Appendix).

News violence does not seem, on the evidence submitted to the Committee, to have an impact that is very different from that of fictionalised violence. Whatever kind of violence is shown, it creates a general atmosphere where violence is accepted as a part of everyday life, and is seen as the best or only solution to human conflicts. There is a danger of desensitisation from showing too much news violence too regularly, and there is also a danger of escalation. On the other hand, hiding the realities of violence could be equally dangerous. Media spokesmen in the hearings underlined that news always had to present what was untypical and unnatural, and that it had to be assumed that viewers were aware of this.

A further area remains to be considered. Can the media, and especially television, be used to promote pro-social behaviour, non-violent problem-solving, and in general conformity to the accepted rules of behaviour? A few studies seem to indicate that this is so. Certain experiments have shown that it is possible to produce television shows, featuring action and adventure, which have an appeal for child and family audiences and at the same time have socially desirable influences (Barrie Gunter, "Can Television Teach Kindness?" Bulletin of the British Psychological Society, 1981, p. 121).

There is much room for further research in this field. The most obvious subjects calling for research would appear to be: the effects of the media on the general views of society; their effects on the very young; the reasons for people watching programmes they claim to abhor; and the motives for both profit-making and non-profit-making organisations producing programmes containing scenes of violence.

But the fact that there is room for further research is really no case for saying that we have to wait for more research before doing anything. We know enough already to be able to be sure that television (as other media in varying degrees) does influence behaviour, in the field of violence at least as much as in other fields. This after all is the reason for commercial advertising and political propaganda on the media.

One point, however, emerged clearly from our hearings: it is dangerous to allow research on the effects of the media to be sponsored by the media organisations themselves. Free independent research is absolutely necessary.

3. Towards a European Strategy

What is it now that we as members of the Council of Europe can do to prevent violence from flooding our media and our minds, that we cannot do at home in our own parliaments?

Two points have emerged from our discussions:

We might encourage the creation of a common European code, agreed by the media and agreed with our governments. In this way we could present a united front against excesses in media violence, whether produced in our own countries, or in that of our neighbours, or across the Atlantic (or Pacific).

We might also, in order to create and strengthen public response to such excesses, give support to voluntary citizen organisations who wish to monitor programmes independently and make their results public.

In taking up such proposals, we must first of all remember that although the debate both in and outside our Committee has concentrated on television, the tendency towards the more intense depiction of violence is common to all the media. Literature, that

oldest and most respected media of all, is not exempt. As an example, let us mention "Clockwork Orange", in which violence was camouflaged by an obscure vocabulary, and "Shōgun", where the violence was rather attenuated by the inordinate length of the book. Both, however, have been successfully "translated" into horror movies in the true sense of the word, even if the films in question may have certain aesthetic value.

The covers of ordinary paperbacks have also become vastly more violent in the last years. This is most easily seen if you pick up a new edition of an older book, say by Agatha Christie or Dashiell Hammett. You would never guess its fairly anodyne and (for Agatha Christie at least) very ladylike contents, from the lurid and shocking images reproduced on its cover. This development perhaps cannot be helped, but it should be noticed at least, as an indication of what is happening in general.

Video-tapes, video-cassettes, DBS programmes fresh or cabled and ordinary films also are all part of the media spectrum. It is becoming less and less possible to consider them apart since they tend to merge into each other and are in any case produced and marketed by the same concerns. Any decision about what has to be done with one of them, must also be considered in the context of all the others.

However, if we are going to try to suggest a common code of behaviour for all these media in all 21 member countries of the Council of Europe, we have to remember to tread very warily. We have to take into account the European Convention on Human Rights as proclaimed by the Council of Europe. Also we must think of the wishes of the viewers, especially those of parents and others concerned with the interests of children. We must also take account of the rights of artists and journalists to express their views and their personalities to the full, including their duty to make the public aware of what is really going on in the world. Last but not least, we have to bear in mind the fact that our various member countries already have many different forms of accountability, whether to government, parliament, or some public body, built into their existing media structures and legislation. Any media code, on a European level, must be flexible and sufficiently sensitive to meet these various interests. But it should not be so flexible as entirely to lose its teeth.

To put first things first, the European Convention on Human Rights places great importance on freedom of expression. It accepts however (in Article 10) that restrictions may be imposed in the interests for example of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, or for the protection of health or morals. Certainly some, at least, of the violent films and programmes we have been considering, could come under such restrictions. It should therefore be not impossible to establish a code for the media consonant with these principles of human rights. There is also a Convention for the repression of obscene publications, concluded by the League of Nations in 1923, re-signed by the United Nations in 1947, and still valid. This is another convention that might also be applied to the new media.

There are many other laws at national level. In many European countries children's comics have to conform to specially stringent rules. Such legislation might be extended to cover all material, visual, radio, or whatever, that is aimed at children. Sweden has recently enacted legislation against the sale of particularly violent and sadistic video tapes to minors (under 15 years). Shops selling such material can be prosecuted, and the first case of this kind is at present under way.

Any country may in this way establish its own laws against one or more of the media in order to protect its citizens. The legislation must be kept up to date with developments in the new media. In the present technological situation, however, such laws are obviously very ineffective unless they apply to all or most countries in the same cultural area.

The fact that incitement to racial hatred is forbidden in most democratic countries should also make it possible to formulate similar laws about incitement to violence against persons through media representation of violence.

The question of whether direct censorship of one or more of the media should be introduced or strengthened, has been debated in the committee and very differing views have been expressed. It is indeed difficult to say why there should be censorship laws for one medium, which do not apply to others. A fairly positive position was expressed by one of the experts, namely that "the only solution to the present dilemma of freedom versus censorship in the media would be to extend the same freedom that existed for the written press to all other media". On the other hand, there was agreement on the need to protect children and other sensitive people from excessive and meaningless violence in all media. The sort of measures that could be envisaged are:

- deferring to beyond the normal bed-time of children, programmes including violence;

- editing news bulletins so that the more explicit scenes of violence are only shown after a certain dead-line;

- clearly indicating policy on this question, so that parents, or those responsible for young people, can know in advance what programmes or periods of viewing are suitable for younger viewers;

- providing reliable and explicit advance information on programme content and timing.

If legislation is a possible basis for a European Convention, this does not at all rule out the development of a common code of conduct by the media organisations themselves. Indeed, these codes exist to a certain extent already. In the UK, BBC and IBA guidelines are very explicit as far as news reporting is concerned. In Sweden, guidelines are built into the legal system and can be upheld (if not actually enforced) by a special Board charged to take up complaints by the public of infringements against the guidelines.

The difficulty in establishing codes or guidelines is not

really in drawing them up, because some do exist and could easily be copied or elaborated. The real difficulty is how to ensure that the new media companies accept such guidelines when they are competing commercially with other companies. One suggestion that has been made is that the State could uphold the guidelines by exercising close control on wavelengths and by other fiscal measures. Another suggestion was to make a distinction between established broadcasting authorities, the sense of responsibility and policy of which are known, and newly established institutions, which might in an initial period be subject to more severe temporary restrictions, with provision for the gradual removal of such restrictions built into initial agreements. It is however not always easy to see where the dividing line lies between such measures and straight-forward censorship.

An entirely different way of keeping broadcasters and other media producers up to the mark is that of public monitoring. This is already established in the US and is developing in the UK. It would perhaps be a good thing if all member states were to make an effort to encourage such institutions. They would necessarily be very different in different countries, but their common aim would be to help realise true accountability of the media producers to the public. At present these two groups have very little direct contact. In particular the media producer should get to know much more about his audience, and show greater respect for the different view-points, difficulties and languages of the publics with which he is supposed to communicate.

A final measure therefore which must not be underestimated is the importance of training and education of the media people themselves in order to develop their sense of responsibility and their ethical standards. Proper understanding of the effects of the media should be made a necessary part of the qualifications required of all personnel employed in the media field. Such requirements should be built into the licences given media organisations, and could also be backed up with government assistance (or encouragement) to training programmes for journalists and other media people. University and post-graduate training in media questions could similarly be encouraged.

These recommendations must however be underpinned by public monitoring - trust cannot be placed in education alone, however important this may be.

4. Conclusions

The recommendations that should follow from these considerations are set out in the Draft Recommendation accompanying this report. This suggests certain practical steps that should be taken on the European and on the national levels towards such goals as have been described above. Guidelines which can be applied to all or most Member States (if not also to others) should be worked out in collaboration between the media organisations, with the support of governments and of such organs representing public opinion as exist. These guidelines should preferably apply to the whole spectrum of media. Monitoring by non-governmental institutions should be encouraged - and this is perhaps a point where parliamentarians should be particularly aware of their personal responsibilities as leaders of public opinion.

In addition, national media legislation should aim to include violence against individuals along with racism and obscenity, as something which could be properly banned by law.

It is impossible to say at this stage precisely how close co-operation between member states can be in this area, but we should aim at keeping the door as open as possible to further negotiations. The intergovernmental committees of the Council of Europe concerned with media problems provide an important forum to continue discussions. But a sense of urgency should be imparted to co-operation both on the governmental level and on that of the broadcasting organisations. Technological development will not mark time until agreements are reached. Video, DBS, and all their combinations are already invading our society, but those investing in these media (including Ministers of Industry worried about employment) have little interest in media content. They would apparently rather condition viewers than be responsible to them. The commercial world is at the moment making extraordinary progress, often with government support, while there is little or no agreement on even the minimum levels of media content.

Finally, we must call on governments to ensure that broadcasting authorities in their countries give full, close and urgent attention to the need for children to be protected from harmful media violence, and, even more, that positive steps be taken to produce programmes that have a positive stimulus on children towards pro-social co-operative behaviour.

At the outset however a clear picture should be established of existing legislation, media guidelines, administrative practice and monitoring systems in all member countries. Such material is certainly available and has no doubt already been assembled regarding different aspects of the subject. Mr. Svard submitted a draft questionnaire format to the Committee in Assisi relating to restrictions on audiovisual media (See Appendix); it should clearly be very much extended. It should be comprehensive and above all it should be regularly updated in order to take account of the rapid developments in this field. The usefulness of such a comprehensive analysis was recognised by Mr. Blin, Chairman of the Council of Europe Intergovernmental Committee on Media Policy in his discussion with the Committee.

But the question remains as to whether it should be conducted by governments (for example the Council of Europe Committee in question), by broadcasting organisations (for example by EBU), or independently by a research foundation or institute. Personally I should very much favour the last possibility having stressed already in my report the independence of the media and the importance of independent research. It is interesting to note that similar proposals have been made both regarding violence and sport, and regarding terrorism (see the parts of this report by Mr. Atkinson and Mr. Mayoud). The problem is how such a study, or rather such a service, could be financed. This is surely something that governments could discuss through the Council of Europe with independent bodies wishing to undertake the task. An independent interest clearly exists, as is shown by the proposals made by Mr. Belson at the end of his paper (See Appendix). Sources of financing a media survey would not necessarily have to be governmental; many private organisations such as the

National Viewers and Listeners Association in the United Kingdom, National Coalition on Television Violence in the United States, or Rädda Barnen in Sweden might be interested.

The Council of Europe could play a decisive role in stimulating such an initiative and in ensuring that its results were taken into account by the competent authorities.

D. VIOLENCE AND SPORT by Mr Atkinson

Violence has for some time been associated with sport. It is usual to make a distinction between violence in sport (on the field) and violence associated with sporting events (inside and outside the stands). This distinction may refer to different social phenomena and is probably the only useful approach to combating violence and sport in practical terms, but it should not obscure the close relationship that also exists between violence in sport and violence amongst spectators. These three aspects of the question are therefore to be considered.

One preliminary observation is that, in Western society, sport occupies a semi-independent status rather similar to that of the media. We are not talking here of sport-for-all, but rather of professional sport, and the related semi-professional or amateur sporting movements (including the Olympic movement). Sport in this sense is essentially run on an independent basis by the different sporting bodies which are related to their own national, European or international federations. These federations are very jealous of their own independence. They are very reticent to accept government interference.

This is of course not in itself a bad thing. On the contrary, any government, especially at the present moment of economic depression, will be only too pleased not to have to intervene. The problem however with which we are faced is that violence in sport and in particular violence associated with sport is reaching such proportions that some sort of intervention is necessary. Governments should therefore make it clear that they are prepared to intervene if existing controls do not suffice.

1. Violence in Sport

A detailed analysis will not be presented here, nor in the following sections. The facts are sufficiently clear and every one of us has his own experience on which to draw. I shall only cite as typical examples:

- Boxing: the aim of this sport is to hit the opponent, cause him physical damage, and, if possible, knock him unconscious; resulting in several deaths and an unknown number of mentally debilitated retired boxers;

- Football: only "American Football" seems to have openly recognised the fact that this is more a game of intimidation or deliberate fouling played as much against the referee as against the opposing team;

- Tennis: most of us will remember to what extent the Wimbledon championships have recently been "enlivened" by violent exchanges of verbal abuse.

I would not include motor-racing here, as, though it is a dangerous sport, it is not in itself (and perhaps for that reason) particularly aggressive. If a recent Grand Prix crash brought the drivers involved to blows this should surely be better interpreted in the context of traffic accidents than sport.

In general the sports federations themselves are tackling this sort of violence through (a) improving the quality of refereeing (by training, etc.), and (b) modifying the rules in order to reduce the area of subjective judgment left to the referee and in order to increase penalties on violent play. This positive approach, which is regularly applied in hand ball and basket ball for example, unfortunately does not apply to all sports.

In particular there has been no obvious move made by the boxing federations and boxing retains recognition as an Olympic sport.

What is the role of the public authorities or governments to violence in the context of sport? Certainly no less than in normal circumstances; but possibly violence in sport should be treated more severely in that it is more exposed to the general public and young people in particular.

Double standards cannot be accepted. Sport should not be allowed to transgress accepted regulations of society. This is all the more important in view of media coverage of sporting events and of the competitive (thereby aggressive) nature of sport.

Alongside the sanctions imposed by the sports federations (ranging from a free kick or break, to suspension for a period), the sanctions of the law should also be applied: fines, adjusted to take account of the enormous sums involved in sport; imprisonment, to remove effectively a violent player from the game; and extension of responsibility from the team player to include his trainer and manager. Too often in competitive professional sport attention is focused on the player whereas it is the trainer who encourages his aggression and the management that seeks to make financial profit from it.

Provision could be made for the application to violence in sport of the possibility for a third party to register an appeal to the law concerning violence committed. Otherwise the world of professional sport can only too easily arrange matters. The individual sportsman, especially if he is a professional, had better not complain except against the referee.

We should pay particular attention to the "stars" of the world of sport. Our only way at present of opposing the physical and financial abuse that is made of talented sportsmen and women, is to tax their personal gains. A wider net should therefore be spread, and should include both the management of the sport in question and such media as are interested in its diffusion.

In certain circumstances, sport could be banned or modified.

There are many historical precedents. Gladiatorial contests no longer take place. Bullfighting in Portugal avoids the death of the bull. Boxing could similarly be curtailed. In other cases the rules could be modified. In all cases, however, the rules of sport should be vigorously subject to the existing laws regarding aggression or violence. More action is perhaps necessary in our courts on this level.

2. Violence associated with sport

Much more attention is however currently focused on violence associated with sport than on violent acts in sport itself. We are referring here to violence among spectators, either from the audience during a sporting event, or by supporters outside the stadium before and after the event.

Although a certain degree of responsibility for this sort of violence can be attributed to the game itself, and in particular to the self-identification with local or national sides, research is tending at present to relate spectator violence more directly to social considerations. The sporting encounter merely provides an occasion for unleashing a more deeply seated social malaise.

Action against such violence can be divided into (a) immediate, preventive measures and (b) long-term strategems. At both levels, the sporting and the public authorities are involved.

Of immediate measures, the most pressing are the control of stadium crowds in order to avoid direct confrontation between opposing supporters, to distance the crowd from the area of play, to prevent the sale of alcohol or bringing offensive weapons into the stadium. Such measures are indeed being taken into consideration in the design and construction of new stadia, but need further implementation in existing structures. The sports authorities are not always favourable, for example to renouncing the revenue yielded by the sale of alcoholic drinks during sporting encounters, or to the considerable expense of the individual screening of all spectators for weapons. But such procedures are being successfully introduced and if there is co-operation between the sports authorities and the police, costs need not be one-sided.

Outside the stadia, the police and local authorities are mainly responsible. Experience in this area is growing, and it would seem that at least one essential point is to shut down sources of alcohol (on supporters trains, in the vicinity of the match, etc.) and to keep groups of opposing supporters apart. One area of current discussion is control on ticket sales to visiting supporters (and whether these should not be handled through the home clubs). This is a particularly controversial question concerning international matches.

It is necessary that governments should be sufficiently alive to the problem and determined to control violence amongst spectators. Only certain countries have at present specific legislation on security in sports grounds.

There is also need for some measure of international agreement in view of the growing problem of violence associated with international sporting encounters.

In the long term, however, there has to be a basic reappraisal of the nature of sport and the participation of "supporters". More will be said on the first point in the following section of this report. It is a question of whether sport is to be presented as sport or as confrontation. It involves policy decisions both by the sporting bodies and by the media. Should transfer fees be permitted? Should players of the same team be paid on different scales? These questions are questions in the first instance for the sporting bodies, but they also closely concern governments in view of the degree to which the financial element exceeds by far that of the sporting.

In this context the "supporters" are a somewhat sinister shadow to the financial gaze. Clearly much money is again at stake, either through supporters' clubs organised by the sports bodies themselves or through completely independent initiatives. The distinction should be made and enforced perhaps more than at present. In the long term the development of genuine supporters' clubs should be welcomed as an expression of support (win or lose) for the club in question and as a social activity for the members. Supporters as such should however recognise their own responsibilities in representing their teams "off the field". Spurious or irresponsible "supporters" should be rejected. This calls for considerable work by the sports bodies to reinforce the social activities of supporting clubs in order to give them cohesion and also responsibility.

The public authorities, government or local, could well consider giving financial support to the development of genuine "supporters' clubs" and so aim them against other groups interested in taking advantage of the confrontation situation of a sport contest in order to make trouble.

3. The example of sport

It could be argued that sport implies competition, confronts teams, brings out nationalistic tendencies in supporters, and thereby provides an example, a context, and an incentive for violence. This is the negative example of sport. In a recent Assembly report Mr. Druon wrote of the degradation of the present Olympic Games in such terms. But this is a degradation of a very different ideal. Much more attention should in fact be given to the positive example of sport and the ideals, at Olympic level and other, that it involves.

Sport is a game, competitions exciting. Skill and prowess are to be admitted. It is healthy. Team games call for co-operation, team spirit, and self-denial. Training involves self-discipline and determination. Sportsmanship and fair-play, concentration and good-humour. These are some of the true values of sport, or of what sport should be.

We hear indeed very little of these values. This for two main reasons: (a) the commercialisation of professional sport (a first division team will pull in a much more substantial crowd than a third division team; to win is to make money, it has hardly anything to do with the sporting spirit); (b) concentration by the media on top-level competition, which again is now essentially professional sport.

These tendencies are perhaps natural. There is probably very little that can be done to regulate them beyond the controls against violence mentioned above. We could, however, begin to question the sporting status of professional sport, and above all we can give much greater encouragement to the true sporting spirit:

- in ensuring a proper place for sport (both individual and team sports) in schools;

- in encouraging sports-for-all, in particular through the generous provision of facilities;

- in placing emphasis on the playing of sport for its own sake, rather than restricting support to formally constituted clubs or competitions.

Although we have all witnessed the major football, tennis or ski confrontations in the course of the last year through our own television or newspaper, very few of us have supported local or amateur sporting events. Compared with the massed stands of many thousands we see in the crowds of televised sport, the huddled knot of five or six under an isolated umbrella on the touchline is a very unfamiliar experience. The game may however still be the same.

After all, the essence should be to play, perhaps to compete, but not necessarily to win. Far too much emphasis has come to be placed on the importance of winning in sport. This is one of the main reasons for the violence in, and associated, with sport. This image should be actively counteracted, so that sport can provide its notion of fair-play as a more general lesson for the conduct of modern society.

## 4. Action against violence in sport

There is a clear need for a survey of action taken by the various bodies concerned with violence associated with sport. A full picture cannot be given here, and for two reasons: (a) the extreme variety of the sources (individual sports, non-governmental associations and governments) from which such information would have to be taken, and (b) the fact that research into precisely this question has only been launched this autumn by the De Backer Foundation. We do not wish to reduplicate the results of this enquiry but would rather lend force to its urgency. What follows is therefore essentialy a description of the framework in which future activity could be developed with particular reference to European co-operation on the subject.

### (a) Governmental action

The Netherlands and the United Kingdom are currently concerned at government level with the question of violence and sport. For reference here can be mentioned the 1979 Canadian (Quebec) law relating to safety in sports, and the creation of a board called the "Régie de la sécurité dans les sports" in that part of Canada.

(b) Action by the sports federations and authorities

Action is being taken within each federation both regarding the sport itself (rules, referees, etc.) and the control of spectators. In Switzerland and the Netherlands, the sporting bodies will soon be launching a campaign to encourage fair-play. In Monaco, the Junior European Football Championships have for some time adopted a specific stance against violence in the sport itself.

(c) The Olympic Movement

The President of the Olympic Committee, Mr. Samaranch, gave recently his full support for the action against violence in sport led by the International Alliance in Monte-Carlo, 16-17 November 1982. Clearly the Olympic Movement is conscious of the need to re-establish the credibility of the Olympic ideals. Governmental co-operation is also necessary, and the possibility of increased co-operation with the Council of Europe on the subject of violence in sport was welcomed by Mr. Samaranch on the same occasion.

(d) Other international activity

This is the area of co-operation to which the Council of Europe might be able to make its contribution.

The subject of violence in sport has been in fact on the agenda of the Council of Europe's intergovernmental committee since the Conference of Ministers of Sport in 1977. Nothing has been done however since 1977 pending the results of research undertaken by the International Foundation (De Baker-Van Ocken) for the Fight against Violence Associated with Sport. In 1981 this Foundation joined up with the International Committee for Fair Play (ICFP) and the International Association for Non-Violent Sport (IANVS) to form a concerted International Alliance (Entente). After producing a manifesto in 1981, the Alliance met together for the first time in a Symposium in Monte-Carlo on 16-17 November 1982.

The motion adopted by this Symposium is reproduced at the end of this part of the report. It covers most of the aspects of the problem of violence and sport mentioned here. It is adressed in part to the sporting bodies and the media. We should note the support already expressed by the International Olympic Committee. The motion also calls for the support of governments and is addressed in part directly to the Council of Europe.

We should give our full support to this initiative. In particular the Council of Europe, through its Steering Committee for the Development of Sport, should give active consideration to European co-operation on violence and sport, including the elaboration of a European Convention or other forms of European agreement on the introduction of specific legislation in member states.

5. Conclusion

My contribution to this report has attempted to outline the problems of violence in sport and violence associated with sport and to stress their inter-relation. Doubt has been placed on the

./.

acceptability in today's society of directly violent sports. Regrettably perhaps, a distinction has had to be drawn between professional sport and sport itself. More government support is certainly needed for encouraging the practice of sport in a non-competitive sense. Governments should also seek all opportunities for further co-operation with the sporting bodies. Violence associated with sport should be a central item on the agenda of the European Ministers of Sport when they next meet in 1984.

ADDENDUM: Final Resolution of the Symposium on "Non-Violence and Fair Play in World Sport: Effective Measures" (International Alliance for Non-Violent Sport and Fair Play, Monte-Carlo, 16-17 November 1982)

The first International Symposium on Non-Violence and Fair Play in World Sport, held in Monaco on 16-17 November 1982, expressed first of all its gratification at the warm encouragement and proposals of co-operation received from the highest levels of authority in world sport, including Mr Juan Antonio Samaranch, Chairman of the IOC, Thomas Keller, President of GAISF, and Franco Carraro, President of ENOC, who took part in its proceedings.

The Symposium also welcomed the active part taken by representatives of the Council of Europe, the International Sporting Press Association, the French Minister of Youth and Sport, Panathlon International, etc.

It also gratefully noted the best wishes and offers of support received from Mr Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, Director General of Unesco.

The symposium began by addressing a message of sympathy and gratitude to HRH Prince Rainier III for his active support of IACVS and his help in organising the symposium.

The participants were informed of the message received from HRH Prince Rainier III by Mr Jacques Ferran, President of IACVS:

> "I greatly appreciated the message which you sent me on behalf of all the participants at the Monaco symposium and the sentiments towards me which you expressed in it. It gives me great pleasure that so many associations and persons concerned with finding and putting into practice specific measures designed to promote fair play, stop violence and restore the nobility of sport should be meeting here. Please accept, with my thanks, my best wishes and the assurance of my full support for your efforts to achieve those aims."

After discussing the major trends in present-day sport and the dangers to which it is exposed as a result of its tremendous expansion; observing that these dangers are all the more serious

because sport intends more than ever to remain true to its education and cultural function, constituting as it does at the present day one of the best means of communication among men, the symposium set about drawing up concrete measures to combat violence and promote fair play.

The measures advocated by the symposium concern:

- sporting circles themselves, including competitors, technical staff and officials, whose role is naturally paramount;

- governments and public authorities, who have a duty to shoulder their full responsibilities, in close co-operation with the sports movement and the media;

- journalists and the media, whose attitude can be crucial.

The three organisations responsible for organising the symposium (International Association for Non-Violent Sport, International Committee for Fair Play, Rika de Backer Van Ocken International Association for the Campaign against Violence associated with Sport), which together form the International Alliance for Non-Violent Sport and Fair Play, have themselves decided to step up and diversify the efforts they have already undertaken to safeguard and promote sport.

The resolutions adopted by the symposium are as follows:

I. SPORTS AUTHORITIES

By way of preamble to the specific proposals for combating violence in all its forms and for promoting fair play, the symposium wishes to make the following two remarks:

1. "Competition" does not in itself generate violence. All perverse or degrading phenomena in sport must be combated, at whatever level they occur.

2. In the organisation of sports events, sporting considerations must be given priority over all other aspects. Competitors and technical experts should be more fully consulted by the organisers.

The Monaco symposium

1. Requests the IOC, in close co-operation with the International Alliance to organise a World Week every two years to promote fair play and combat violence in sport;

2. Proposes that the international federations

a. Regularly review their playing rules, together with everyone concerned in their particular sport, with a view to making changes designed the better to combat all forms of violence. (For example in football: official introduction of temporary expulsion, banning of tackling from behind);

b. Appoint an official to be responsible for questions of fair play and non-violence;

c. Supply national associations with audio-visual material for referees/umpires, players, instructors, etc., stressing forms of conduct which enhance the status of players, and rules governing dangerous play and the interpretation of those rules;

d. Introduce an undertaking, to be signed by teams taking part in major events, to abide by the rules of sporting ethics;

3. Recommends that national associations

a. Set up a national body which would meet regularly to promote fair play (awards, trophies, etc.), and combat violence at all levels;

b. Develop courses to train young people for positions of responsibility;

c. Promote the conduct of matches between young people by young umpires/referees;

d. Insert in the rules governing certain competitions for young players, provision for taking into account the behaviour of the competitors and their team officials. (Compare the worldwide efforts of IABF in mini-basketball).

e. Co-operate more closely with supporters' clubs, in order to improve spectator behaviour.

II. PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

The symposium wished primarily to draw the attention of governments and public authorities to their responsibilities and to the need for the utmost effort in education, the training of technical staff and officials and the promotion of sporting ethics.

It accordingly urges those governments which have not already done so, to set up working parties or task forces to investigate questions of safety and ethics. In this connection the Régie de Sécurité de Québec is an example to be held up to all.

The symposium further proposed the following programme:

1. Collation of all official texts throughout the world on questions of safety and non-violence and sport;

2. Collection of information on how they have been complied with in sports facilities and equipment. The de Backer Foundation's working party has undertaken to carry out this programme as quickly as possible;

3. Preparation for governments and education officials of a dynamic programme designed to propagate the fundamental values of sport in all teaching circles, both in schools and in sports organisations. This programme will be drawn up and circulated by the International Committee for Fair Play;

4. Lastly, in the light of the above material and information, the Alliance will draft a model convention for ratification by governments, defining the general framework for their action to combat violence and promote sporting ethics.

Each government will then be able to determine how to implement the convention according to national circumstances.

Detailed consideration of this draft convention will be one of the main items on the agenda for the forthcoming International Alliance symposium.

III. MASS MEDIA

Affirming yet again the importance of the role played by journalists and the mass media and their responsibility in connection with trends in sport, the symposium proposes the following measures:

1. Publication of a white paper or handbook alerting the press to its responsibilities with regard to violence and ways of attenuating its effects. This handbook would be produced in several languages, in conjunction with ISPA which agrees to help circulate it through national associations of journalists and the de Backer Foundation which will arrange for translation. It will serve as a working paper for courses and colloquies and will be available for use by various bodies such as the International Olympic Academy, which plans to hold a session on violence next summer.

2. A request to the International Olympic Academy to provide for attendance at the 1983 session on violence by some twenty young journalists designated by national Olympic committees. Journalists should also be enabled to contribute to this session by analysing the role of the press in combating violence.

3. A recommendation to national Olympic committees in countries which have a national Olympic academy to include an item on violence and the media in the programme for each annual session.

This recommendation could be presented by the Alliance delegates invited by the Chairman of the IOC to the Assembly of National Olympic Committees in Los Angeles.

4. Analysis by the International Alliance of acts of fair play and of unsporting conduct reported to it. Careful, objective examination might lead the Alliance publicly to stigmatise conduct which sullies the good name of sport.

IV. FUTURE ACTION AGAINST VIOLENCE AND FOR FAIR PLAY

The symposium made the following recommendations to international organisations working against violence and for the cause of fair play:

1. Setting-up and operation of national, or even regional branches of the International Alliance in co-operation with all the relevant bodies, including the IOC, federations, Olympic committees and associations of journalists;

2. Organisation of a travelling exhibition highlighting the work of the three member associations of the Alliance. Deployment of all necessary resources to promote the Alliance's work, through the press, communiqués, posters, etc.;

3. Alliance sponsorship for as many sports events as possible, especially events for young competitors;

4. Regular organisation of symposia to deal separately with the areas explored by the Alliance. The next symposium could be held at Monaco in october 1983 in close conjunction with the GAISF meeting of international federations;

5. Taking into account of the various proposals made at the symposium by IOC, GAISF and ENOC.

The symposium attaches special importance to an invitation from the IOC for two Alliance delegates to attend the next meeting of Olympic committees in Los Angeles and the next session of the International Olympic Academy.

E. POSITIVE APPROACHES: EDUCATION by Mr Anèr

This has been a report about unpleasant and often quite horrifying things. It is necessary to end by pointing to the positive approaches that exist, that might be found, and that must be encouraged. These are above all the measures that can be taken in the education of both young and adult people, to help them see that violence is not as necessary in their lives as they thought.

I. Against violence as an educational model

Positive approaches towards a non-violent society are not, regrettably, confined to measures regarding the media. We have to start much closer to home - in fact in the home itself. It is an illusion to believe that violence is only something perpetrated in the steet by young hooligans or by conscienceless producers in their studios. It takes place at home, involving helpless children, to a far greater extent than ordinary decent people like to imagine.

That is why I am now appealing, not to everybody's personal experience, but to objective facts presented by child psychologists. I refer to one of them - one among many - Alice Miller, a Swiss psycho-analyst who has written on the childhood of Adolf Hitler (Alice Miller, Am Anfang war Erziehung, Suhrkampf Verlag 1980). She shows in detail how he repeated against Jews and mentally crippled people, the exact treatment his own father for many years had meted out to him, while his mother looked helplessly on and the boy was forbidden to voice, or even to feel, his own wrath and hatred.

To avoid our believing this to be a terrible and unique exception, she quotes at length descriptions of child torture in families brought to the notice of "Sorgentelephon" in Aeflingen, in the canton of Bern in Switzerland. These were telephone calls made by maltreated children, beaten, burned or sexually abused. These were not from "unfortunate families" but for the most part from quite normal ones. The descriptions of what these children were subjected to could make scenarios for many dozens of horror films.

There is no reason to believe Switzerland to be in any way remarkable in this respect. Researchers into the subject estimate that between 84 and 97% of all parents subject their children to some form or physical punishment (The Ombudsman and Child Maltreatment, papers from a seminar by Rädda Barnen, Sweden, 1980; the following references are also taken from this publication). A study carried out in 1978 in the US shows that the extent of family violence is generally underestimated. In making proportional projections to the total population of children in the US in 1976, Gelles calculates that between 3 and 4 million children have at some time been kicked, beaten, or hit with a fist by their parents, that between 1.4 and 2.3 million have been at some time "beaten up" by their parents, and that between 900,000 and 1.8 million have been assaulted with a knife or a gun.

Another similar fact is that violence between children at school or outside it is increasing. Some Norwegian figures show that in the first form, about 40% of the children feel threatened and frightened by their school fellows often or from time to time. In the fourth form, about 15% do. Another Norwegian survey indicates

that nearly half of the first form pupils are tormented in the school playground and on the way to or from school. As far up as in the fifth form, the figure is 15%.

Finally, I would remind you of the recent decision of the European Court of Human Rights against the UK, the British judge dissenting, on the question of whether a Scottish schoolmaster had the right to beat his pupils' hands with a leather strip, if the parents objected to it. The UK Government has since challenged this judgement.

I have here quoted facts and figures and identified the countries from which they come because I wish to show that they are real. Nobody should believe, I trust, that such facts cannot be matched from any other European country, my own included. The best comment upon them I have found lies in the "Aphorisms on violence" by Dr. Hacker of Vienna: "To teach non-violence by means of violence is to perpetuate the violence one wishes to eliminate; once the method is adopted, the purpose of the teaching is forgotten." (See Appendix).

2. Towards a more constructive attitude in schools

How do we then teach non-violence by non-violence? That is obviously the way to do it; but where are the techniques?

They seem at the moment chiefly to be found among Quakers. At the outset they set the tone, by prefering to speak of education for co-operation, rather than the negative concept of non-violence. Methods are in use that can help teachers present non-violent conflict resolution, not only between pupils but also etween themselves. These methods ought to be more widely known and tested. No doubt many schools all over Europe have found similar methods on their own: these should be sought out and systematised for the benefit of all. The proposal of the Quaker Council for European Affairs to conduct a survey of existing models should be given urgent priority.

One way of promoting non-violent life in school is of course that of developing democracy in school and giving the pupils training in responsibility. This should admittedly be a gradual process and the scope limited as the individual child passes very rapidly through the school system.

School democracy has to be shored up by other efforts such as those of helping the pupils to show initiative and demonstrate their own capabilities, and by building up real co-operation between all the educators in a school, so that none of them is left to face a critical situation alone.

Teachers need much support and training in order not only to tell the pupils about democracy, but to show them by their own example how to live it. They also need training in detecting when children are actually suffering from violence (as was described in the Norwegian study cited above).

The general aim of such training would be to improve the democratic but also co-operative atmosphere within each classroom.

Encouraging young people to play a constructive part in school activity is certainly not the complete solution to all problems of violence in society, but it is surely a means of improving the basis from which one could hope to approach these wider problems.

The results of the Council for Cultural Co-operation project on preparation for life should be mentioned here and follow-up given some priority (See Appendix).

In terms of school teaching, it should be underlined that teaching non-violent behaviour is not to be regarded as an additional item in the school curriculum. Far from it. The principles of non-violence should be included in existing programmes, and in particular those of history, where progress is all too often marked in battles rather than cultural achievements with very much more long-reaching effects on the future of mankind. Other subjects that could be reviewed from the non-violence angle are language, literature, religious instruction and geography. Further proposals may result from the Council for Cultural Co-operation Symposium on Human Rights Education in Schools in Western Europe to be held in Vienna on 17-20 May 1983. It should be made clear that we are talking here of the period of compulsory schooling, and of the whole of this period.

One particular point made in the Committee was about the need to select teachers more carefully so that only those who were really "good" are allowed into the classroom. This is of course a good idea; but it is also a counsel of perfection, since one cannot assume that there will always be sufficient really "good" teachers, and that the rest will follow their lead. Teachers must however accept that they are always open to learn and to improve, and in this way the whole atmosphere and spirit of the school can also advance and improve.

## Avoiding unnecessary violence towards animals

Most children will associate St. Francis of Assisi with kindness to animals. They will also, if they have a pet animal at home, learn for themselves the importance of building up a consistant relationship towards these animals and the shattering effect of any act of violence.

The modern conscience has in general become more sensitive to violence against animals. But with a remarkable exception: the use of animals in scientific experiments. This was discussed at a parliamentary hearing organised in Strasbourg on 8-9 December 1982 and will form the subject of a separate report. It is however also relevant here to regret that, whether for fundamental or applied research (such as testing industrial processes), the infliction of pain on animals is to a very wide degree considered both necessary and acceptable. In this situation, it is often the young people who would wish to react against such violence, while their elders (and presumably, therefore, betters) force them to commit it either at school or in their university studies.

At a very minimum the right to object on grounds of conscience should be admitted. Violence against animals should form no obligatory part of the curriculum of either school or university.

4. The role of parents, associations and the community

Non-violent behaviour must also be taught to parents. Child-battering parents, or parents who simply do not know how to cope with their children, need help more than condemnation. There is ample scope here for action by the local authorities, by adult education organisations, by the churches, and by the many kinds of organisations aiding parents. Such aid must take the form of information about children's real needs, in language the parents can actually understand, but also it should open up ways to mutual help and the sharing of experiences with other parents of the same age or social group in order to counteract the worst enemy of the present-day family - the feeling of being entirely left on its own.

The Churches have a long tradition in this field and ought to be called upon to continue their service to families, not by trying to force people back into antiquated family patterns, for example of hierarchy and distribution of labour, but by helping them to fill with warmth the new patterns of modern living.

The proposal by Europhot as a result of the hearing held by the Committee to organise a competition for an Assisi Peace Photograph is the sort of positive initiative that can be welcomed in this context.

5. Education in decoding the media message

One particular aspect of the duties and opportunities of parents, schools and other educating bodies, which we must stress especially here, is that of teaching the young to de-code, criticise, and constructively use the mass-media. All the media experts heard by the Committee were unanimous in calling for reinforced media education that would produce alert, critical viewers and listeners. According to one of them: "Greatest emphasis needs to be placed on developing in children from their earliest school-days a critical awareness of the positive and negative features of the mass-media" (Appendix).

According to another: "If television is truly to serve, rather than as too often now to dominate or subtly propagandise, then today's children must be given, while there is still time, a far wider and more comprehensive education in the understanding of that medium as well as of film and video than has so far been attempted. Such education cannot be left entirely to the schools and colleges, though they will inevitably have a major role to play. Parents too should seek a greater understanding in the wise use of this comparatively new but immensely influential force in our society" (Appendix).

To conclude, we should concentrate our efforts in our own parliaments and constituencies and in the Council of Europe on these points:

- We must mount a "literacy campaign" so that everybody will be able to look behind the shown picture in the same way as we teach everybody to look behind the hidden word. To make it possible

for people to look behind the TV picture gives them a possibility to see what producers can do and understand how it is done. This knowledge can certainly make them more critical and also make them less vulnerable to blind acceptance of the media message.

- We must help to make it possible for pressure groups to counteract messages that are felt to have an adverse effect on children. This means that we should help parents and others to get their protests heard. This can be done in several ways both by financial support as well as by creating channels through which they can reach the producers and TV companies.

- We must try to make TV and film companies invest more in quality than quantity. Even here different ways can be used.

- We must educate parents so that they do not use TV as a baby-sitter.

- We should stimulate TV producers to make programmes for the whole family and also programmes that can help to restore relations and a community spirit.

F. A EUROPEAN AWARD FOR NON-VIOLENCE by Mr Aano

In the statement he made to the hearing in Assisi, the late Senator Calamandrei made the proposal that combating violence should be the subject for a European Schools Day essay and a European prize (Appendix). He was unfortunately to be unable himself to develop this idea, but it has led to the proposal now submitted to the Assembly for a European Award for Non-Violence.

The procedure proposed for this award is derived directly from that of the existing Nobel Peace Prize, which is awarded by an independant committee elected by the Parliament of Norway. It would seem appropriate for the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly to be similarly associated with an award on the European level.

Further details can be discussed when the principle is accepted by the Committee of Ministers. It is certainly important, as in the case of the Nobel Peace Prize, to ensure that the statutes for the award are very clearly drafted.

The award could be aimed particularly at creative works promoting non-violence, whether in the literary, audio-visual artistic or educational fields. These are the areas covered by the present report. Restricting the award in this specific way would also, it is suggested, enable the European award to complement the Nobel Peace Prize and make a positive contribution to non-violence.

G. OVERALL CONCLUSIONS by Mrs Anèr

If we wish to erase violence as far as possible from our society, it is important to use means that do not frustrate people, but that open up new ways of satisfaction to them. What people, and perhaps especially young people want, is not really violence, but the sense of belonging, of being important to other people, of being responsible and successful. When these needs are not met in a natural way, violence appears as a means to achieve them.

In practice we should try to find ways of using the media positively in a manner that celebrates and enhances life, not death. This is one of the main points made in the new film E.T.; and it is interesting and most reassuring, to note that non-violence can be a commercial success. This is one concrete example.

In schools, our aim similarly should not be to restrict the freedom of children to hit and bully each other, or not only and primarily that. Our aim should be to give them the tools and the freedom to solve their conflicts without violence, and thus be so much more at liberty to do constructive things together.

A report on violence (from the fairly narrow point of view that has been used here) cannot end without pointing to the fact that children are imitative creatures and do what they see adults do, while adolescents are critical creatures and strict judges of what the adults do. Both groups mirror the behaviour of us, "adults", in their different ways. It is up to us to see to it that the picture they mirror is not too hateful and too violent.

# APPENDICES

# I. SUMMARY OF THE HEARING HELD IN ASSISI

(1-3 September 1982)

## I. OPENING OF THE HEARING

Mr De Poi welcomed participants to Assisi on the occasion of the 800th anniversary of the birth of St. Francis. He underlined the appropriateness of this context for the hearing and the significance of an approach to the problem of violence from a cultural and educational point of view.

Mr Aano made an introductory statement relating the hearing to the statutory concern of the Council of Europe for common European spiritual and moral values and for individual freedom, political liberty and the rule of law that form the basis of pluralistic parliamentary democracy. These ideals were under increasing threat from the growing manifestation of violence in modern society. While other committees of the Parliamentary Assembly were examining specifically the problem of terrorism and the defence of democratic institutions, the Committee on Culture and Education had decided to work on violence associated with sport, on violence and the media and on positive approaches, including education. The present hearing would concentrate on the two last areas. It was intended as a contribution to the discussion that would be continued afterwards on the parliamentary level in the Council of Europe Assembly and in member parliaments. He asked those presenting papers to be as brief as possible and to concentrate on areas for debate. No conclusions would be adopted in Assisi. It was more important, he believed, at this stage to broaden perspectives and open the discussion to include the many different viewpoints in western society, in particular those of younger people.

A statement by Mr Calamandrei was also read out.
(see below p. 87 and 88 for the italian version)

## II. THE OVERALL CONTEXT

This session was chaired by Mr Aano.

Prof. Hacker, introducing his paper (below pp. 90 to 98) began by defining violence as a physical form of aggression. He then drew a distinction between violence involving loss of control (symptomatic violence), goal-directed organised violence (strategic violence), and violence by the state or institutions (structural violence). The two last sorts of violence could be most easily identified by the fact that they appeared immediately justified, either by serving some noble cause or by being built into an accepted institutional framework. As a psychiatrist he stressed that violence was usually not recognised as such by the perpetrator; to him violence was always what the other did. He gave examples: the father beating his son in order to teach him not to bully a younger child; a country going to war in self-defence. In discussing violence it was important, he felt, not only to discuss the violence of the criminal or terrorist, but also to be very much aware of the structural violence of society. Nor was it enough to disapprove of violence; real changes were necessary and such change (the reduction of surplus structural violence) in western society was too serious a matter to be left to the terrorist. St. Francis of Assisi had set an example of how to resolve by non-violent means the problem of the structural violence of his own day.

Mr Carlsson wondered if this argument might not lead to advocating the removal of laws and the police in order to reduce structural violence.

Prof. Hacker insisted on differentiating structural aggression, which was a necessary part of society, from structural violence. He was therefore in favour of police and the laws, but opposed to a police state. Structural aggression should not however be taken as an excuse for violence, and he was concerned to show the illogicality of condemning criminals for violence while justifying, and even praising, violence committed by countries. The events of the current year gave several examples of this approach which he wished to challenge.

Mr Grieve found Prof. Hacker's argument profoundly disturbing as its logical consequence was anarchy. It was misleading to confuse normal parental correction with political violence; but it was very dangerous to suggest that in a democracy any kind of violence might be acceptable. In a democracy, as opposed to a dictatorship, the only acceptable way of introducing change was through the ballot box.

Mrs Anèr asked whether Prof. Hacker regarded competition in business, sport or love as an antidote to violence or simply as an extension.

Mr Hoyaux agreed with Prof. Hacker's appeal for tolerance on the part of those in a position to impose violence (Aphorisms 21 and 23 : below p. 97). Tolerance however was rather more the exception than the rule in terms both of the individual and of civilisation. But what alternative was there to tolerance? There

should be an alternative other than submission, if society was to be able to change.

Prof. Heiskanen asked if Prof. Hacker would prefer society and institutions were more openly and bluntly aggressive, rather than seeking to hide aggression in hypocritical justification.

Mr Atkinson asked for a comment on the relationship between violent sports and violence, and on the opportunity sport offered for violence among spectators.

Mr Carlsson pointed to the important role of the self in western society and wondered how far this related to violence. Did the position vary in different societies?

Prof. Hacker said that corporal punishment had been denounced throughout the world as a direct and immediate cause of violence. In any attempt to reduce violence, priority should be given to reducing violence in education.

He agreed that tolerance required a highly developed educational level. But while accepting that there were certain circumstances where violence was necessary to resist violence or cause reasonable change, he insisted that only in very few cases was violence really justified. Evidently such justification should be determined by a neutral body and not by a participant in the conflict.

He did not really mind whether society hypocritically concealed its violence or bluntly admitted it. What was more important was to reduce actual violence by reducing the root causes of violence. Despite controversial areas where further research might be necessary, enough was sufficiently well understood for certain causes to be eliminated.

On competition, sport and love he followed Freud and Lorenz in recognising that they contained aggression and that this aggressive element generally served a good purpose as an antidote to violence even if on certain rare occasions it had the reverse effect of actually stimulating violence. He excluded here however the perversion of sport in national and commercial competition. In general he favoured education in handling aggression and in aggressive pursuits as a means of avoiding violence.

He agreed that the sense of self was an important feature of western civilisation, but did not feel that this was necessarily related to violence.

Mr Grieve asked Prof. Hacker to what extent he disagreed with the view that in a democracy, with the ballot box available for achieving political ends, it was inconceivable that violence could be tolerated.

Prof. Hacker believed that violence should be outlawed in any democratic society. But it was not enough simply to say this; it was necessary to identify the root causes of violence that lay in the structural aggression of social arrangements, and try to remove these causes by making non-violent changes.

Miss Eberhard explained that she would be speaking as a young person and on the basis of her own practical experience as cultural worker. She developed the two postulates in her paper (below pp. 99 to 102) that violence is not only the illegal act of violence and that people are not born delinquent but become so. Agreeing with Prof. Hacker's general position, she believed that a greater effort should be made towards understanding violent acts rather than justifying them. She stressed the contribution multicultural contacts could make towards appreciation of the underlying structural violence of society. More bridges should exist between the different categories in society, and ways should be sought in particular of enabling young people to come out of their present ghetto and participate constructively in society.

Mr Carlsson asked whether Miss Eberhard believed that such factors as social class and family upbringing were major factors in delinquency. He also wondered if she felt that all selection or competition, for example that in sport, was necessarily structural violence and therefore negative.

Mr Müller pointed out that it was unfair to blame delinquency entirely on the urban environment as young people had often chosen to go there. Was the problem in towns that there was no control, or too much control? As possible factors in violence, he suggested numbers and pop music.

Mr McGuire did not agree that society was as much to blame for violence as Prof. Hacker was suggesting. The police had often to intervene violently to stop riots and protect property and the innocent. Governments had a responsibility to defend their countries. His own impression was that, rather than increasing, violence was going out of family life and that there was a change from personal violence towards collective forms of violence.

Mr Cirici asked how Prof. Hacker viewed the justification of violence against a dictatorship. It seemed a very conservative position to argue that violence could only be justified by reference to an independent international body as such bodies had in the past tended to support government authority however undemocratic its power basis. This was for example the present attitude of the Council of Europe to the situation in Turkey.

Miss Eberhard felt it was important to recognise that selection and competition in society led people to violence.

On young people in towns, she pointed out that the young people with nothing to do did not themselves feel bored or in a ghetto. This was simply her observation of their relationship with other parts of society.

Mr Jessel said it was wrong to apply the same word "violence" to acts of terrorism and to the action of lawful authority (see Aphorism 5 on p. 97 below). In a democratic society people needed protection and this protection was provided by the law, the

police and the courts. He asked Prof. Hacker if he was not giving the same moral status to the fire brigade as to the person who committed arson. Such an approach was dangerous and morally irresponsible.

Mr Aano asked for a clarification of the terms "violence", "aggression" and "power". Was all use of power violence?

Prof. Hacker believed that Miss Eberhard's position was essentially very close to his own. Society was indeed very much to blame for increasing violence and should not seek scapegoats in delinquents who themselves were victims of the structural violence of society.

To Mr Jessel, he replied that he believed that it was immoral to apply different standards to violence committed for or in the name of the government and to violence against the government. What was legal or what was illegal was a function of power and very little else; but the legitimacy of government depended on self-imposed limits to its violence, and it was in these terms, rather than in terms of violence, that a difference could be seen between TV scenes of riot police in the UK and in Poland.

On young people in towns, psychological experiments had shown that people and animals tended to group together, even in dangerous situations. Numbers in themselves did not however produce violence, although violence might develop in a group.

On the use of the term "violence", he continued to insist that it be used for acts of violence perpetrated by no matter who. Otherwise the natural human tendency was to distinguish "good violence" (your own) from "bad violence" (the other's); human nature was more sensitive to aggression against us than done by or for us; it was important to be suspicious of the natural reaction to feel the other wrong as this was the first sign of seeking a justification for further violence.

Mr Carlsson noted that there were different standpoints being adopted on when aggression became violence. Selection in education for example might lead to aggression but was it itself aggression and did it really amount to violence?

Prof. Schweitzer drew attention to a semantic problem which might explain certain misunderstandings that had arisen. In German the same word "Gewalt" denoted both illegal violence and also the legal force of state authorities (see his paper on page 152 paragraph 8). Historically speaking, the Church had tended only to support the legal authorities and the forces of law and order. This had been in his view a serious mistake as it had led directly to the rise to power of such dictators as Hitler.

The basic question for the present hearing was how to avoid suppression of violence becoming a risk to freedom. As a general rule he suggested that in any case of doubt freedom was preferable to law and order.

Mr Tummers spoke of the structural violence of contemporary architecture and the litanies of subversity represented by graffiti, which in Turkey were currently regarded as acts of terrorism (see below page 230).

Mrs Urben supported Prof. Hacker's conclusions, in particular on the importance of regarding tolerance as responsible firmness. She asked about violence to women, about which much was being said at present, and whether it was really increasing.

She also wondered how Miss Eberhard interpreted the increasing lack of interest shown by young people in the West in political movements, in contrast to the political involvement of many young people in such East European countries as Poland.

She did not believe there was any question of young people choosing to live in urban ghettos. They were there as a result of their social background and external circumstances.

She wished to bring into discussion the significance of popular music in the culture of young people of today. It was perhaps interesting to note that violent disturbances tended to occur only in pop concerts commercially organised for young people and not in those they organised for themselves.

Mrs Anèr noted general agreement that there was much violence in society. She asked whether there had ever been societies in which overt violence did not occur. She also asked about the reasons for violence; was violence the result of the breakdown of institutions, of a loosening of morals, of economic factors, of social trends such as the breakdown of the family as a unit in society, or the fault of the media?

Mr Beix noted the close link indicated by Miss Eberhard's paper between delinquency among young people and unemployment. The frustrations of unemployment and in particular the negative effects of temporary work contracts were reaching a critical level in most member countries. Specific measures should be recommended to the Committee of Ministers to stabilise the work situation.

Secondly, he noted the amount of violent media material made by adults but for consumption by younger people. If the effect of such material was to stimulate younger people to violence, was there not an argument for state censorship?

Mr Aano pointed out that these two points would be taken up in later sessions of the hearing.

Mr McGeorge said that, in his experience as a prison psychologist, punishment did not change people's behaviour. A more positive direct method should be sought to encourage people to examine their own behaviour critically and to learn alternative forms of behaviour.

On the socio-economic causes of violence, he pointed out that city-size seemed to have a direct effect on violence. In cities of over a quarter of a million, the crime rate rose faster than the population rate.

On the semantic issue, it was necessary to distinguish governmen "authority" (derived from the electorate) and government "power" (derived from other sources).

Mr Spitella believed that the phenomenon of violence was closely linked to the historical evolution of society and in particular to the loss of certain fundamental values. As coercive measures had plainly failed to stem growing violence, an effort should be made to identify and reestablish these basic values.

Mrs Pack found it difficult to follow Prof. Hacker in drawing no distinction between violence under a dictatorship and a democracy.

Mrs Hawlicek on the other hand supported Prof. Hacker's analysis. It was not a matter of defining good or bad forms of violence, but of identyfing and removing the root causes of all forms of violence.

Mr McMahon believed that the two-way communication barrier between young people and the older generation was a major factor in contributing to frustration and violence. He gave an example from his own constituency which showed the importance of involving parents in the activities of young people. Extra funding for youth work was not by itself enough.

Miss Eberhard was uncertain about the effect of the urban architectural environment on violence in the streets.

She stressed the importance of explaining and understanding violence rather than justifying it or condemning it. She appealed for a recognition of human dignity in the treatment of young offenders.

On the lack of interest shown by many young people in politics, she suggested that this was because young people were disgusted at the way the political system worked and in particular at the impossibility for most of them to make any effective contribution. Young people had tremendous imagination and potential; they should not be alienated.

Prof. Hacker welcomed Mrs Hawlicek's understanding of what he was trying to say. To Mrs Pack, he repeated that of course what the police did in one country was not necessarily as justifiable as what the police might do in another; but his point was to avoid the trap of seeking justifications for violence and to go directly to the question of reducing violence.

Terrorism had to be controlled legally and within limits, for otherwise anti-terrorism could become terrorism, indistinguishable except by the observer's viewpoint (whether it is your violence or violence against you).

On definitions, he understood "violence" to mean "hurting people physically", and he maintained the importance of distinguishing this from aggression. The negative effect of urban architecture could therefore be aggression but not violence.

He supported Mrs Urben's view that tolerance was not spineless submission but holding firmly to a viewpoint and seeking to persuade by non-violent means.

Certain speakers had advocated corporal punishment. The reason for the tenacity of this view was simply that to hit a child took very much less time than to talk to him, understand him and persuade him. It was difficult to find time and to have sufficient education to talk effectively to young people.

The recent recognition of the significance of violence to women was a good example of structural violence becoming real violence. For a long time the women victims of this structural violence were not aware of the fact. He believed a major task lay in making society conscious of the structural violence it contained.

If many young people were not interested in politics, it was because they could not believe in democracy when they saw they could change nothing. Talking alone was not enough; and after a certain time young people would themselves stop talking and turn to other action.

He agreed that the terrible threat of unemployment was a direct cause of juvenile aggression.

Although not himself an anthropologist, he was inclined to believe that there was no such thing as a non-aggressive society. On the other hand, and what was more relevant, there were certainly societies which were less violent by comparison with others: Western Europe was less violent than Iran, the company of the present hearing less violent than in the back street slums of a European capital. If meaningful differences could exist between societies and between sections of a society, there was reason for a certain optimism and for hope that people might be able to be trained to be less violent or brought to accept other forms of conflict resolution. The fact that war between France and Germany was now unthinkable in Europe was an example of what could be achieved.

Several speakers had attributed increasing violence to a breakdown of values and institutions. Although such a breakdown might be deplorable, he wished to point out that in the past these same institutions (sovereign states, governments etc) had also been those most responsible for violence. A certain scepticism about the working of these institutions pointed in his view to a greater understanding and awareness.

III. THE MEDIA

Mr Müller chaired the two working sessions on the media.

Prof. Heiskanen proposed to be less neutral and less academic than in his paper on the discourse on violence and the media (see page 103). His survey of discussion of this question revealed seven deadly sins: the general avoidance of controversial statements, although most opinions tended to condemn violence in one or another media; self righteousness, rhetorical statements by social scientists; avarice, or the wish to avoid affecting the interests of the culture industries; real politik, the argument that censorship imposed a single point of view; intellectual smugness on the part of scientists who feel they can handle media violence; hypocrisy, as why do people who abhor violence like to watch it?; and finally the separation of theoretical discussion from practical action and decision-making. In this last context, he pointed out that programme makers were too often ignored in the debate yet needed much more definite instructions on how to handle specific cases than were contained in the theoretical arguments for or against violence in the media.

As a positive contribution to the discussion, he stated that he personally would be prepared to allow showing on the media of violence in the context of everyday life, of violence resulting from unavoidable tragic circumstances, and of violence illustrating the real nature of man. This last was he felt the right of the intellectual artist.

His main recommendations were the need for further research, especially on the effects of the media on very young people, and for education in the mass media for which training should be envisaged on a national level. He was also concerned that the various categories of persons involved in the question of violence in the media should meet together more frequently to discuss the operational problems.

Mrs Anér recalled her 15 years experience working in Swedish broadcasting. She tended to agree that there was too little discussion between researchers and the media people themselves. But she was particularly uncertain as to how the media decision makers selected representative opinion from the general public on which to base their decisions about programming. As a parliamentarian she constantly received requests, often contradictory, for something to be done about current programmes, and it was necessary to explain that parliament was in no position to impose changes. What means existed, she wondered, for the public to have direct access on a regular basis to the programme makers?

Mr Voogd believed that much of the language used in the media went far over the heads of most young people and that the resulting sense of alienation was a cause of violence. He recommended a much more understandable media language. Otherwise democracy would be only meaningful for the very few.

He wondered why Miss Eberhard had not included the violence of traffic alongside that of the city in her paper. The noise and danger of reckless driving was a direct form of violence, which the media in particular seemed happy to perpetuate.

Mr Grieve questioned Prof. Heiskanen's acceptance of media violence depicting the "real nature of man". Man was saint as well as sinner, so that depiction of the more newsworthy violent side was at best only a partial picture of his real nature. Repeated scenes of violence had the further effect of desensitising the viewers.

He next drew attention to the photograph of Mrs Kennedy in Mr Coucke's file; he found intolerable such public intrusion on private grief.

Mr Aano asked if there was any comparative research on violence in daily life and on the media in totalitarian states. Did strict media censorship in East Europe involve reducing media violence, and did this have any effect on the incidence of real violence?

He also asked if the experts would not agree there was some evidence for some effect of media violence on the real violence of people. This was the claim of the recent US National Institute of Mental Health report and was also surely indicated by the vast sums spent on media advertising: if such advertising had no effect such sums would not be spent.

Mr Carlsson pointed out that two issues were under discussion: the effects of violence in the media, and the conflict between controlling this violence and freedom of expression.

Prof. Heiskanen believed that more research was necessary on the direct and indirect effects of violence in the media. He felt that researchers should pay greater attention to the practical concerns of the media people themselves. It was also important to appreciate the real reaction of the public: people were very often hypocritical when approached on the question of sex or violence in the media. The photograph of Mrs Kennedy was a good example as the picture had been very popular. More research was needed on this form of hypocrisy.

On media language, he agreed with Mr Voogd that many of the topics handled by the conventional media were rather out of touch with the current interests of young people.

On traffic noise, he felt that tolerance might be called for just as the habitual city-dweller had to be tolerant to the sound of a countryside cock crowing.

He stressed that his acceptance of media violence when depicting the "real nature of man" was related to fictional violence, and he accepted the need for a balanced and responsible approach on the part of the artist.

On violence in Eastern Europe, he gave examples of media violence used to enhance patriotism and related this to the aggressive attitude to foreigners in real life.

He suggested that advertising had a different effect on people from media violence.

Mr Jessel asked for direct answers to the two basic questions: whether violence in the media did cause violence in real life and, if so, what kinds of constraints on the media were acceptable.

Prof. Hacker regretted that there would not be time to take up in detail the many points raised by Prof. Heiskanen's paper. He did not however feel that the problem was that the media people paid no attention to scientific research. Rather, the media played to what the public wanted, and the problem was the medium, which tended to oversimplify, to sensationalise, to prefer the trivial to the important.

He agreed that the results of research including that conducted by his institut für Konfliktforschung in Vienna into the effects of media violence were not totally conclusive. However enough evidence existed to show beyond doubt that the constant presentation of violence on the media created a general atmosphere in which violence was more accepted as part of daily life, and that violence was often the sole and best solution to human conflicts. This could not but influence individual behaviour. He tended to agree with Mr Aano that advertising was a relevant comparison, and advertisers would never spend money unless it was effective.

Mrs Whitehouse suggested that the broadcasting companies were only concerned with ratings and the fact that people wanted to watch violent programmes, rather than with the philosophical question of why people should watch such programmes even when it was known that they were harmful. The National Viewers and Listeners Association she had set up in the United Kingdom 19 years ago had been from the start attacked and ridiculed for claiming that if TV constantly showed violence it would create a more violent society. This same position had been repeatedly confirmed in research and conferences. She doubted however if it was necessary, even if it was possible, to prove a direct causal relationship between a violent scene on the media and a violent act. There was surely sufficient evidence in the history of western civilisation of the effectiveness of pictures in education and in teaching. Obviously what people saw conditioned them. The real question then was about what people were seeing, not whether they might be influenced by what they saw.

She went on to criticise the media on two further counts: first for the violence done to language and the removal of words as an outlet to violence, and secondly for the non-observance of the various "codes" published by broadcasting authorities. The films advertised on UK TV for the coming autumn were clearly in breach of the BBC-IBA guidelines.

Miss Eberhard pointed out that the politicians who took courses on how to appear on the media were evidently well aware that the media had an effect on the public. It was wrong however to generalise about the effect of media violence, as perception varied depending on age or cultural background. She believed most young people were more interested in how to use the media actively than in the problem of media violence.

Mr Blackledge was concerned by the effect of TV on particularly young children. To the 2-5 age group, the input from TV was essentially cartoon-like and non verbal, so that a scene of one person hitting another would be registered without any verbal understanding of the action. Such visual impressions were possibly stronger than what was learnt later verbally during formal school education.

Many young people with low attainment on leaving school reverted to the cartoon age in their reading habits.

Prof. Hacker pointed out that most research into the effect of media violence was directly financed by the major broadcasting companies. Even when an independent study was produced as in the case of the US National Institute of Mental Health report, the broadcasting companies had a strong voice in selecting experts and in interpreting the conclusions to the general public. It was indeed difficult to find disinterested bodies prepared to fund academic research in the entertainment field where commercial interests were so strong.

He repeated this belief that the media were more violent than reality and had the effect of making reality more violent. A 3-year-old child reacted to the news of his grandmother's death by asking who killed her; Vienna housewives were reluctant to go out at night because of the violence they imagined occurred, even though their sole evidence for this was on imported US TV serials. He believed that such examples, taken from his own research, were sufficiently indicative even if conclusive proof of the direct effect of media violence could not be given.

Mr Cirici argued on the contrary that the message of the media was only effective if it was correct. This was true of advertising. It was also true of Spain: when the Franco regime had total control of the media, no-one was convinced by the propaganda put out.

Mr Francis wished to correct the largely theoretical basis of the present discussion by reference to the experience of the professional practitioner in the media. It was too often assumed that the practitioners ignored the debate about the effects of media violence: in fact they constantly monitored their productions and evaluated them piece by piece for acceptability.

As he indicated in his paper (see below page 123) he had himself worked for 25 years in the BBC, covering current affairs on both television and radio, and had spent 4 years as the BBC's controller in Northern Ireland. He felt it was wrong to generalise about media violence and that the effect varied widely depending on the receiver. There was a danger of desensitivisation from showing too much violence too regularly and there was a danger of encouraging escalation. But there was an equal danger of sanitizing the truth and of omitting to show material that might indeed encourage public abhorrance of those who committed violence.

In assessing acceptability, it was necessary to recognise that news was essentially untypical and unnatural. Fictional programmes often came closer to reality than factual. Impact varied with

perception: thus the visual impact of 5 seconds of violence might be very much greater than 50 minutes of non-violence. Assiduous attention had to be given to the relationship between commentary and visual sequences. There was also the problem of the devaluation of language about which Mrs Whitehouse was concerned.

Responsible institutions, such as the BBC, worked to a set of guidelines covering such questions as the violence content in programmes. One issue for discussion was therefore whether these guidelines worked in practice, and whether they were properly applied. Another issue was the relationship between the institutionalised media and the non-institutionalised, in particular in the light of the new media technology. Decisions would very soon have to be taken on the political level as to whether the need for regulations on content justified the establishment of some sort of institutional control over the whole media field. A further question was the form such institutional control might take.

Mr Beix believed that it was wrong to blame media practitioners for including too much violence if the system was itself too open. Public opinion seemed now to be concerned that limits be set out to the presentation of violence. He asked whether the practitioners would be prepared to set their own deontology, or whether this was for democratically elected parliaments to impose.

Mr McGuire, recognised that the BBC was very conscientious in seeking advice about programme content, but asked if its advisory groups were sufficiently representative of ordinary people. In reporting terrorism, he suggested that more space be given to explaining the historical background; although he did recognise that such an approach might be criticised as presenting the terrorists' cause. He accepted that the public seemed to have an insatiable taste for violence, but asked if it was responsible for the BBC to respond to this taste, as shown in the ratings, with further violence. On legislation, he pointed out that there were laws in the UK prohibiting TV material that might demean people because of their religion, race or colour on the grounds this might affect public perception of the people in question; he asked whether scenes involving sex or violence, degrading to the human personality, were not just as relevant.

Mr Atkinson welcomed Mr Francis' involvement in the hearing as it was clearly important for parliaments to draw on the experience of practitioners if political decisions were to be made in the media field.

He noted a reference in the BBC guidelines to a Council of Europe Conference that had stated that media violence encouraged real violence only among those already predisposed towards aggression. He challenged this view.

With reference to Mrs Whitehouse's publication entitled "It makes you wonder why you bother", he asked how the BBC reacted to complaints, and to the criticism that it did not abide by its own guidelines.

More specifically, he asked if BBC news carried more violence after the 9 pm watershed, and whether a change had occurred over the last 10 years in BBC attitudes to what feature films were acceptable. Would the BBC consider showing such films as "Brother sun and sister moon", which concerned the life of St. Francis, with a view to encouraging a more peaceful society?

Mr Leon Herrero asked whether, in reporting on terrorism, the BBC regarded declarations made by terrorists as information to be reported in the same way as terrorist acts. He also wondered what controls existed on the overseas journalist reporting on acts of terrorism.

Mr Francis responded by suggesting that the role of the responsible media might well be to act as a catalyst, but that included speeding up the public reaction against violence. Simply to aggravate violence would be irresponsible. As it was impossible for TV to avoid violence, either in factual reporting or in fiction, the question lay in how the violence was presented. This could only be judged on the total audio-visual content and in its context. Violence could not be measured quantitatively in violent acts per minute; but required much more sensitive qualitative evaluation. Too often parliamentary criticism of BBC T.V. was based only on the reading of transcripts.

The current "Grange Hill" series on BBC TV had been criticised for its portrayal of violence and violent language in a comprehensive school situation; however the BBC believed that the programme seen as a whole had a moral, and, in presenting life with which most young people could associate, had a positive influence.

He accepted therefore that TV was influential, but stressed that it was only influential as far as it was seen, and as far as it was believed. Much had been said about the copy-cat effect of recent media coverage of rioting in the UK, but only 9% of 12-19 year olds had watched the coverage of the 1981 riots and only 3% in 1980. He agreed with Mr Cirici that credibility was essential; for this reason science fiction violence was less dangerous.

On the question of how to reflect public opinion, he pointed out that the BBC had over 50 advisory bodies (including the General Advisory Council on which there was some Parliamentary Representative) and it conducted considerable research into audience reactions. The system of handling individual complaints was under constant review. It was clearly impossible however to meet all objections or to change policy overnight. The fact that the BBC's charter had recently been renewed was, he suggested, a fair indication that the institution was regarded as following its guidelines.

In reporting terrorism, he admitted that interviewing apologists for a terrorist cause elicited much stronger parliamentary criticism than presentation of the horrible consequences of terrorist acts. Paradoxically this would imply that the power of the word was more dangerous than that of the picture. However audience research showed that the effect of showing terrorist spokesmen was generally to incline public opinion against the terrorist cause.

Why then was this powerful technique not used more frequently by the BBC? The reason was that society could not be assumed to be totally rational. The same problem arose in the application of guidelines: whether to deny information to the 99% who could handle it in order to avoid exacerbating the 1% who could not. BBC policy was to take the risk, but only very occasionally and when warranted.

On the relevance of audience ratings, he pointed out that only poorer broadcasting organisations should succumb to simple competition for higher ratings. The BBC placed great importance on maintaining programme standards, but for this it had to pay heavily, for example by not showing parts of series bought as a whole, or by abandoning full length plays when it became apparent after completion that they were not acceptable. The real danger of the media pandering to public appetites lay in the developing countries and where smaller broadcasting organisations were competing with established institutions.

On the 9 pm watershed, he said that indeed the visual content of news bulletins varied, with the pools of blood widening as the evening progressed.

On feature film policy, there was a detectable shift over the last years, but whereas in the UK the trend was to less violence and more sex, the reverse was true in the US. He could give details of titles in due course.

Mr Atkinson pointed out that the "Grange Hill" programme was put out in children's viewing time. He would not want his own children however to watch it as it reflected an unacceptable form of behaviour. Was there not a moral obligation on the broadcasting organisation to aim at higher moral standards in such a sensitive area?

Mrs Anër observed that 150 years ago, the public in western society was encouraged to watch public executions as it was felt good for morality. On the 9 pm watershed, she asked what extra news value lay in the pools of blood that were not shown on earlier bulletins.

Mr Francis admitted that the BBC's decision to show the "Grange Hill" series had not been unanimous; it had however been carefully made. The problem was that of the universality of broadcasting, and the danger was to over-sanitise programmes so that they were indeed acceptable to everybody.

To Mrs Anër, he replied that TV was, compared to other media, a powerful tool with both positive and negative possibilities. Use should be made of the positive potential with responsible programme direction. He was very reluctant to accept that there were certain things that TV should never be allowed to show. The watershed approach, with a sliding scale of values depending on time of day, was in his view an excellent compromise.

Mr Müller suggested that the hearing move on to consider other media, namely video (which in his view was likely to prove a much more significant area in the near future), the cinema and still photography.

Mr Svärd introduced his paper (see below page 131) which gave an account of the impact of video in Sweden and the various measures introduced to control media content. These measures ranged from mandatory censorship before showing (for films shown publicly), to legislation on content with violations prosecuted after the event (for video and film shown privately) and voluntary agreements on ethical standards (involving the video industry). He proposed a questionnaire sheet that might be used (extended where necessary) to collect comparative evidence from other European countries (see below p. 138). The legislation in Sweden was however recent and test cases had yet to be brought that might indicate how effective it was. The main problem in the video field was that young children had access in the home to material only suitable for adult viewing. Another area of growing concern in Sweden was DBS which went beyond the scope of any national regulation. He hoped that the Council of Europe might be able to propose basic guidelines on violence content acceptable to all European countries.

Mr Meccoli referred to his paper on violence and films (see below page 146). He sought first to show how much more the audience was involved in the cinema than in the broadcast media. In particular he criticised television for accustoming the viewer to violence, for the indifference of non-committal interviewers, for the deformation of sport. The box-office was a more effective and more direct way for the public to register its reaction than through statistics of TV audience ratings.

He was also critical, however, of the hypocritical justification of violence in the cinema on grounds of art or style. The great artists did not need to pander to the public in this way. Detailed presentation of acts of violence, the apology for violence and incitement to violence were to be avoided in films, and especially in those which might be seen by younger people for example on television which in such countries as Italy was not subject to any control.

The problem was how this could be done. Self-monitoring boards worked only in certain countries but were powerless against the vast commercial interests at stake in launching any new film. Direct censorship on the other hand called for international agreement both for cinema and television. This was proving very difficult to bring about, but he supported any efforts the Council of Europe might make in this direction.

Mr Coucke supplemented his paper (see below page 166), with a number of photgraphs illustrating his point that the responsible still photographer could portray violence effectively without being violent. A certain self-censorship was called for, although he admitted that there was the temptation of commercial success through sensationalism. Unfortunately it was also often the case that the striking, violent photograph would win competitions. He believed that there was much the still photograph could achieve in contrast to the constantly moving image of film or TV. In order to improve the sensitivity of professional photographers to the issues under discussion, his association Europhot was prepared to take action to include a more humanistic approach in basic training. His paper included the proposal for instituting an Assisi prize for anti-violence photography

compatible with the spirit of St. Francis. He also suggested that people in general be encouraged to appreciate still photography.

Mr Carlsson identified two areas for subsequent questioning relating to controls on media content: how to deal with irresponsible professionals? and how to react to the new media?

Mr Atkinson asked what sort of institution Mr Coucke envisaged for the supplementary humanistic training he had proposed. He suggested that the video disk, if it took over from tape, could offer a means of facilitating control of video.

Mr Ostergaard believed in freedom and responsibility. He had voted in favour of legislation banning the public display of pornography. But he rejected censorship, preferring codes of guidance; and he stressed the importance of avoiding any broadcasting monopoly. On the general question of violence, he wished younger people could appreciate the experience of his own generation which had moved from the violence of two world wars to democratic government in Europe.

Mr McGeorge wished to avoid the impression that reducing violence in the media would solve the much larger problem of violence in society. He also pointed out that a very much smaller proportion of women were convicted for violent crimes even though both sexes watched the same TV programmes. Could men learn from women?

He asked Mr Coucke if the Quaker Council for European Affairs in Brussels could be of any assistance towards including a humanistic element in the vocational training of photographers.

Mr Leone referred to the specific research on violence which had been conducted by the United Nations Social Defence Research Institute (UNSDRI) on a world-wide basis and contrasted this with the preoccupation being expressed, especially about violence in the media, in the present hearing. For developping countries, that is for two-thirds of the world, the problem of the influence of media violence could be considered to be rather irrelevant. In the wider world context, according to UN experts, a certain type of violence existed which was often the only positive concrete solution to the problem of survival. It was not worthwhile to build up a sophisticated or politically-minded definition of right or wrong violence; even if far from being perfect, the only reasonable distinction was between legal and illegal actions. In such circumstances he believed that states had the duty to respect law and make it respected thereby ensuring peaceful co-existence, whether or not this law enforcement was justified in the terms of Professor Hacker's analysis, which seemed to be true only for the more developed countries.

Mr McMahon was convinced that TV had a very considerable effect on people and especially on the formation of young people. He asked what members of parliament might do to ensure this power was used responsibly. He was particularly critical about misrepresentation and deliberate misreporting for political propaganda purpose, and gave an example involving a BBC report on an incident in his constituency.

Mr Beix asked whether there was a direct relationship between representation of violence on the media and a feeling of insecurity in society, and whether, as this seemed to be being suggested as the case, this would not lead society towards non-democratic forms of government.

Mr Jessel wished to pursue with Mr Francis the point made earlier by Mr Blackledge about the effect of media violence on very young children. What steps could be taken to avoid desensitisation from an early age?

Mr Aano said that the reaction to video in Norway had followed lines similar to that described by Mr Svärd for Sweden. As a result of public pressure, legislation had been introduced controlling the importing or showing of video with more than a certain level of violence. He was convinced however that the problem of video, and still more of Direct Broadcast by Satellite (DBS) called for an approach on the broader European level. In this context he referred to on-going work in the Council of Europe. He also related this activity to cooperation against terrorism with which Mr Calamandrei's reports were mainly concerned.

Mrs Urben said that although teachers had in the past tended to work against television and regard it as competing with school, there was now a movement towards accepting television and working positively with it. She would however place the age at which children came under the influence of television rather earlier than Mr Blackledge's 2-5 age group, as even 6 month olds were being left in front of the set with no possibility of digesting its messages. In the urban environment a child might well believe hens to exist because he had seen them on TV; but for the same child and for the same reason "Spider Man" and "Superman" also existed. What were children to make of the fact that by the age of 15 they had seen the death of several thousands of people on TV when they had only themselves one life. She appealed to the practitioners to help teachers decode the television image. Part of this process could involve a greater sensitivity to media violence, for she was very concerned at the banalisation of death and violence by the media.

Prof. Hacker replied to Mr Leone by questioning whether survival was necessarily ever an excuse for violence and by repeating that participants in a conflict were the last to be able to judge whether violence was justified.

On the influence of television, he warned against lofty generalisations. It was perhaps too easy to identify the media as the scapegoat for all evils. Yet US presidential elections had been said by some to have been determined by the television appearance of candidates. Somehow the media, in trying to reflect reality, managed to shape it. There was a particular danger for children who might be able to escape school through illness but rarely their favourite TV programme. Control of the media and access to the media represented power, as politicians at least in France and Germany had recently shown.

Given this clear indication of the power of the media, for better or worse, he wondered what was meant by those, such as Mr Francis, who had spoken of "responsible" broadcasting. Responsible in what way, responsible to whom, responsible for what? This was a political issue and not for the practitioners. The Council of Europe should, in his view, not simply reaffirm the need for responsibility, but also establish the criteria of that responsibility.

Mrs Whitehouse said that when she had left the UK the first trial of a video tape was under way. Unfortunately broadcasting was excluded from the obscenity legislation, but she wondered if international conventions might not be applicable. She asked the Council of Europe to investigate the validity of the 1923 League of Nations Convention on Obscenity (reaffirmed by the UN in 1943). She also appealed to the Council of Europe to elaborate a European Convention concerning video, cable, DBS and broadcasting generally.

Mr Eisjink suggested that hero figures were historically a rather different social and psychological phenomenon to the recent problem of media violence. But on the impact of media violence, he felt that this was as much a result of consumers seeing what they wished to see as of the fault of producers.

Mr Müller noted that little as yet had been said about the commercial video producers.

He invited the experts in conclusion to react to what had been put to them.

Mr Svärd anticipated that the only solution to the present dilemma of freedom versus censorship in the media would be to extend the same freedom that existed for the written press to all other media. With modern technology and in particular DBS, media censorship was rapidly becoming out of date except for such clearly identifiable outlets as cinemas and video disks. It was an open question however as to what rules if any would apply once DBS was established in Europe. This he felt was a strong and urgent reason for European cooperation towards establishing some sort of convention. But he also agreed with Mrs Urben that no less urgency should be applied on the educational side to learning to decode the televised image, and to developing a new kind of literacy, a means of self expression and a means of communication using the modern technology.

Mr Meccoli noted the absurdity of current Italian legislation whereby the airwaves were free (as long as only used locally) but cable transmission was state controlled. This only illustrated the difficulty of achieving agreement on the European level on such areas as DBS.

He supported Mrs Urben's plea for interesting young people in school in decoding the televised image and related this to a project of the Association of several Italian Cinema Critics to introduce the audio-visual into the school curriculum. He pointed out that the film, whether in the cinema or on television, was maintaining its importance.

Mr Coucke explained that Europhot's proposal for a European University Institute for Au io-Visual Communication was based on the significance of the visual image in economic, social and cultural communication. Professional practitioners in communication should have a wide grounding in the essentially humanistic nature of the society in which they were to work. He listed the fields envisaged, which included: the human sciences, psychology, sociology, economics, art history, history, international relations, advertising and marketing, languages, information sciences, marketing, copyright and other related legislation, history of photography, aesthetics. Communicators could only communicate what they understood. The aim was to provide a sound basis of understanding of European humanism.

Mr Francis feared that in the short time available major complex issues would appear oversimplified.

He agreed with Mr McMahon that political interference was to be avoided. The BBC would not itself knowingly put out false information. It was however very difficult even for experienced professional journalists to establish accuracy in the immediate aftermath of an incident. This applied just as much to Mr McMahon's appreciation of the incident cited as it did to the BBC's coverage.

To Prof. Hacker, he pointed out that his reference to "responsible" broadcasting in the UK was based on the fact that both the BBC and the IBA were indeed responsible to public opinion as represented by parliament. The broadcasting institutions were not responsible to the government in power.

On children's programmes, he suggested the Committee took evidence from experts in the EBU on the constructive approach being made in many countries. Generally speaking however, children's programmes were aimed at an older age group than that of 2-5 to which Mr Blackledge had referred. For younger viewers, BBC policy was to encourage a "Watch with Mother" approach.

In conclusion he stressed urgency. Most of the present discussion had concentrated on television as it at present was known: namely conducted in a linear fashion, put out and received in real time; put together according to principles of balance and plurality; with public broadcasting organisations, some even commercially financed through advertising, seeking to do a good, balanced, overall job. But the future presented many other possibilities, and a whole new dimension to the problem of coping with violence.

Prof. Heiskanen found Mr Beix's preoccupation interesting. But whether insecurity might lead to a more violent, or on the contrary a less violent society, was a very open question.

In summarising the position reached he agreed with Mr Svärd that the time for censorship was now passed. More reliance would have in the future to be placed on self-imposed restraints for media content. Otherwise it was reasonable to envisage the extension to other media of the same degree of freedom of expression as at present applied to the press.

He remained convinced however that there was a need for further research into the question of violence in the media, and in more specific areas such as that of decision making, the unconscious impact on the public and the case of particularly young children. The academic observer who could find no direct or explicit relationship between media violence and real life violence had to come to terms with the fact of a more general relationship between the two.

Given the variety of stimuli, cultures and audiences, overall values could not be imposed. It was therefore necessary to pursue the elaboration, more than ever before, of guidelines, of codes of conduct, and insist on developing the responsibility of the programme makers. This last problem had been focused by Mr Francis and Prof. Hacker; it was also a problem of the established institutions as opposed to the new media.

He concluded by suggesting that in the first place, as the problem was urgent, special regulations be devised for these new media and in particular for advertising and the commercial interest. In the second place, at a subsequent stage, consideration could be given to possibilities of deregulation.

## IV. POSITIVE APPROACHES

This session was chaired by Mr Aano.

Mr Blackledge referred to his paper and to the supporting documents relating to the Council of Europe intergovernmental project on "preparation for life" (see below pp. 149-153 and pp. 221-227). This project concerned the 14-19 age-group. These young people were faced with a period of unprecedented change, with distancing from the traditional values of law, order and government, and the spectre of immediate unemployment on leaving school.

Although many young people might not be affected by these problems and survive the period of uncertainty, there was nevertheless a growing number who faced a period of considerable anxiety. There could be a growing tendency to aggression, if not actual violence, in schools and no doubt subsequently when pupils leave school.

Five areas could be identified for improving the in-school situation. There was a need for more dialogue between the various stages of education: educational resources were being wasted as a result of inadequate links between the various stages from primary to university levels. Secondly, a proper in-school atmosphere had to be created, involving staff as much as pupils in establishing and maintaining mutually acceptable values. Curriculum changes were called for, especially in the appreciation of the new media technology. Teacher training, both initial and in-service was equally essential, together with training of those who taught the future teachers. Fifthly, parents and the local community had to be more closely involved in the school.

The general aim of such a programme would be to improve the democratic atmosphere within each classroom. Encouraging young people to play a constructive part in school activity could not be a complete solution to the wider problem of violence in society, but it was surely a means of improving the basis from which to hope to approach that wider problem.

Mrs Urben reached similar conclusions from the teacher's point of view in her paper (see below page 154). She placed considerable emphasis on the poor conditions in many schools (inappropriate buildings, large classes, no games facilities etc), which she felt led directly to violence in school. School, however, should not be blamed for all the evils of a society which it largely reflected. The situation called for concrete solutions. The school should be organised as a place where young people could live and meet. There should be more dialogue both within school (involving parents and local authorities as well as teachers and pupils) and outside it (parents should find more time to establish a dialogue with their children). Schools should, as had been said, aim to teach a critical approach to the media. Curricula should include education in cooperation, responsibility and clear thinking. But if democracy was to be taught and experienced in school, the load imposed by the existing curriculum had to be lightened.

Prof. Schweitzer drew attention to the main political consequences of his paper about the church and violence (see below page 151). As the events in Poland were showing, the church was beginning to give its support to individual freedom and democracy rather than simply side with legal authority. Even if democracy was a weak form of social cohesion and opened the door to abusive use of violence, this weakness had to be accepted as the price of the alternative to a totalitarian state. And within the democratic framework he stressed the importance of non-violent social defence, a basic principle of which was always to leave a way open for the opponent to escape and be reintegrated into society. The church could play a positive role alongside schools and the media in maintaining a dialogue, especially with young people, on the tensions and problems of society. It was only when there was open discussion on such problems that teaching about kindness, peace and reconciliation could begin to make practical sense.

Mr Aano noted that all three speakers had stressed the need for participation and for a dialogue involving all parties. He anticipated that subsequent discussion would cover violence in schools, curriculum content, relations within the school and interpersonal relations outside the school.

Mr Cantieni regretted that more emphasis was being put on avoiding negative concepts rather than on positive values such as goodness, caring and tolerance.

He agreed on the importance of an open dialogue within the community but asked for further information on involving young people, who often had difficulty in formulating their opinions, in this dialogue.

Although he would not go as far as Prof. Hacker in suggesting that institutions had failed, he asked Prof. Schweitzer what were the weaknesses in the present Christian Church that led more and more people to leave it. Was this the fault of the church or were people simply not interested in the dialogue?

Mr Jessel was concerned at the seriousness of violence in schools and related delinquency. He asked what could be done to reinforce existing sanctions.

Mr McGuire did not believe school discipline had anything to do with class size, as Mrs Urben suggested in her paper, but rather with the almost exclusive attention paid to academic subjects in which a large proportion of the class might not be interested. He felt that teachers should be asked to pay more attention to the non-academic child.

Mr Blackledge, on the question of sanctions, suggested that what was important was that a school developed a code of values and then applied it with firmness. If possible the pupils should themselves be involved in developing the code. The community should also be used in dealing with problems and the school should not be isolated from the rules of society.

Mr Carlsson felt that it was wrong to over-emphasise the importance of the school and of conditions in the school. There were large schools, poor conditions, and badly trained teachers in China but without the same problem of violence. A more significant factor in his view was the relationship between the school and the community.

Mrs Urben said that when she had visited China recently, she had been able to see only what the authorities had wanted to show her. She was not therefore convinced that she had seen enough to be able to comment.

-

Mrs Anèr asked for more evidence on educational thinking relating to training in the non-violent resolution of conflict as part of the school curriculum. On the basis of many years experience in Sweden she did not herself believed that participation was necessary, though not a complete solution to the problem of violence.

Mr Drubay regretted that in the present state of teacher-training, teachers were totally unprepared to handle the teaching of non-violent conflict resolution.

Mr McGeorge replied to Mrs Anèr's question that at least two education authorities in the UK provided material on peace studies for use in schools. In Pennsylvania, US, similar material was being made available and covered also the problem of racialism.

He accepted the need for specific teacher training in how to present non-violent conflict resolution, but believed it was just as important for teachers to be able to resolve problems between themselves. Children were very much influenced by the example of those in authority over them.

-

Mrs Whitehouse referred to the earlier discussion on the effect of the media and called for wider school education in understanding the power and nature of television, film and video. She submitted a supplementary paper (see below page 193) containing specific proposals for a Council of Europe educational project in this field throughout member countries.

Mr Coucke drew attention to the conclusions of the Council of Europe Symposium on the secondary school and the mass media relating to the aims and methods of media education (see below page 156).

Mr Carlsson supported the idea of a campaign for media literacy. He asked what the media themselves might be able to contribute and whether teachers were adequately trained for media education. Were the media prepared to assist teachers and others to decode the code?

Mr Francis was strongly in favour of educating the younger generation in comprehension of the new media and in exercising a critical faculty. Broadcasting could give practical help in a number of ways: by providing programmes directly related to the school curriculum and which schools could pick up on a time-switch basis and record for use in the classroom; by providing supplementary non-curriculum material of educational interest; and by reaching young people through popular music programmes. In addition programmes could be produced on programme making and associated printed material made available either directly for the classroom or in the form of teachers' notes. It was however impracticable to bring the classroom into production studios, except perhaps on a local basis.

Mr Mayoud suggested that violence in school resulted from a failure of society to question itself and reformulate its values. Young people found it difficult to adopt the same values of earlier generations, yet these values were enforced in school and society. He did not feel material conditions were particularly relevant, but rather criticised the teaching methods used in schools. How could young people be expected from them to learn to appreciate democratic values and individual freedom of expression?

He asked what sort of values or moral principles young people would be prepared to share. In general however he preferred to link juvenile delinquency and violence to the consumer society and the reactions of young people who did not have material wealth in such a society.

Mr Jessel suggested, in order to combat boredom among pupils, that more emphasis be placed on the personal qualities of teachers, such as flair, imagination and enthusiasm, rather than on their academic qualifications.

Mr Grieve said that most of the criminal offences with which he had to deal as a judge involved young people under 21 years of age. He attributed this directly to a failure of society and therefore asked whether the mistake was to regard young people as a separate part of society. Should not the family be encouraged to regain its role as a basic unit of society?

On the question of sanctions, he agreed that the most effective sanction was the disapproval of society. In school this meant the disapproval of a child's peer-group, but it also depended on good leadership from teachers. Like Mr Jessel, he believed that the present selection system for teachers called for careful revision in order to avoid recruitment of people with no vocation for teaching but simply an interest in long holidays.

He felt however that the state also had a large responsibility for the problems that existed. It was a fault of government to encourage high rise flats and thereby destroy the sense of community, or to force mothers into work thereby passing responsibility on to the schools. He suggested that thought should be given to the question of how legislation might be used as a means of restoring the sense of responsibility and other lost values.

Prof. Heiskanen commented that discussion had concentrated too much on young people as individuals. It was more important to consider youth culture as a whole. This was essentially today based on popular music. He suggested that the effect of the media on young people was transmitted through its effect on youth culture. The same point could also be applied more generally to the earlier discussion on the effect of violence in the media: this effect was not direct but depended on the impact it might have on the peer-group.

-

Mr Drubay expressed himself in general agreement with Mr Blackledge and Mrs Urben, but especially with Miss Eberhard. In order to reduce violence, it was important for schools to teach on understanding of the differences between people and to teach responsibility and democracy. This teaching should take place not only in the classroom, but also through life in the school. Cooperation was also necessary with the community and with institutions outside the school. On this he appealed for a dialogue between parliamentarians, teachers and the teaching organisations.

He suggested that mass media education should also include participation alongside professionals in the production of a journal or TV programme.

Mr Filibeck said that, in view of the complexity of the question it raised, Professor Schweitzer's interesting paper warranted much more detailed consideration than was possible in the time available. He wanted, however, to clarify the Holy See's thinking on one point: Catholic teaching recognised that there was a perfectly legitimate distinction to be drawn between force and violence, whereas Professor Schweitzer seemed to argue in his paper that the Church was unable to draw a clear distinction between them. On this point, he referred participants to the text of the Holy See's contribution to the hearing (see below page 171). In drawing such a distinction, the Catholic Church in no way intended to give support to particular state authorities but was motivated solely by a desire to defend human dignity.

The Holy See much appreciated the hearing the Council of Europe had decided to hold in Assisi: in this way, it had created a most appropriate link between its work and a place so impregnated with the Christian spirit.

-

Mr Aano invited the three main experts for this session to respond.

Mr Blackledge took the point made by Mr Mayoud further and warned that there was considerable evidence that the dissaffection of young people with their education was growing throughout Europe. If this dissaffection continued, it could turn into aggression. There was an urgent need for the reexamination of basic curricula.

He assured Mr Mayoud that codes of values could be agreed in a way that involved young people. There were many happy schools. Only disorganised schools were unhappy.

The problem of non-academic children raised by Mr McGuire was certainly recognised by the government in the UK. He felt that there should be room for a more flexible approach to the school system, allowing non-academic children to cross to vocational training at an earlier age as in France. With young people now becoming mature at the age of 16, it seemed unreasonable for schools to continue to treat them as children.

He was very sympathetic to Mr Jessel's suggestion that teachers be employed on the basis of their personal qualities rather than their academic qualifications. This was clearly a sensitive area, but he felt that an attempt should indeed be made to improve selection methods through negotiation with the teachers' unions. A basis for such negotiation would be the aim of ensuring that more effective use was made of available teacher resources throughout the whole educational system.

Schools could not however be expected to carry total responsibility for the education and upbringing of future citizens. Teachers should not insist on any exclusive right to imparting education but should be willing to enlist the support of others, of the media, of parents, and of the local community.

Mrs Urben referred to the publications mentioned at the end of her paper in reply to Mr Cantieni's request for information on contacts in the community context. There were in fact considerable variations from one community to another: dialogue could not be set up in Zurich or Lausanne for example, whereas there was no difficulty in Basel or Geneva. As a particularly successful example of establishing contact with young people, she mentioned a discothèque run by the Red Cross.

To Mr McGuire, she said that large class sizes made it very difficult for the teacher to follow the problems encountered by each individual child.

She welcomed the possibility of media education in school, but appealed for teaching material, suitable programmes, and above all room within the curriculum.

On sanctions, she agreed that peer-group disapproval was the most effective method, but insisted that it be invoked at the earliest possible stage. Children reacted very quickly.

She agreed also that the school could not be expected to do everything and that teachers needed help from parents. The family was

an important element in society, but it also needed assistance. Mothers needed training in how to love their children constructively right from the cradle. Help was also necessary for migrant families.

Prof. Schweitzer continued to believe that it was always a problem for the established churches to accept a government which had been instaured by revolutionary forces. He agreed in the fundamental importance of human rights, but insisted that this was not a question of hierarchy and was based on the recognition of the rights of each individual. He valued the work of the Council of Europe in this sense.

He noted that the hearing had not approached the question of how to combat those ideologies for which terrorists drew their inspiration. Indeed he felt that lack of clear political goals, in the life of many young people was as serious a factor in the spread of social unrest as political differences or unhealthy living conditions.

If the church was failing, as Mr Cantieni had suggested, he wondered if this was not because of excessive concern to maintain and exalt the family unit on the basis of out-of-date values where the father's word was law. The church should take a wider perspective, that of respect and reconciliation not only within the family unit but also between peoples. It should tackle major world problems, such as peace or starvation, with which young people in fact readily identified their own concerns.

For a similar reason he believed that Marxist socialist doctrines were just as dangerous as romantic notions about family life in moral education in school.

V. FORMULATION OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr de Areilza chaired this final session of the hearing. It was meant first, to pull out from the preceding discussion areas where government (on national, regional or local level) should intervene and second, to identify matters for European cooperation.

Mr Voogd submitted a number of general considerations.

He felt that there was clearly an urgent need for further research. Areas suggested were: whether people were born with an aggressive nature, whether fictional violence on the media had a direct effect on people, whether environmental constraints could lead to aggression, and whether violence could be at all narrowly defined. In this context he referred to the paper submitted by Dr. Belson, below pp 139-45, which pointed out that there were different types of violence with different influences.

Secondly, it had to be settled whether there really was a semantic problem in the use of the words "aggression" and "violence". In discussion of violence, it was necessary to be clearer on whether individual violence or structural violence was under consideration.

Another question was how people reacted to violence and whether the viewer saw only what he wanted to see, as Mr Eijsink had suggested.

As television only showed part of human life, there was a risk that the audience received only a distorted view.

It was important to bear in mind that the lower the age the greater the risk from exposure to television.

There seemed however to be general agreement that extended exposure to media violence had a negative influence. He linked this to Mr Francis' remark that the role of the television was to act as a catalyst. Did television therefore not risk speeding up violence in society?

Broadcasting companies should be independent both of government and of commercial interests. He who paid the piper, called the tune.

Censorship for adults could not be justified in a democratic society. Where people were supposed to be mature enough to elect a government or choose a partner, they should be able to decide what to watch. Furthermore, technological advance, and in particular DBS, was fast making censorship an out of date issue.

As new developments took place i the media field, it became increasingly important to know who fed material into broadcasting satellites and whether these people were responsible, or in any way answerable to elected parliaments.

Goverments, social organisations and citizens should be aware that a growing proportion of young people condemned and rejected society as hypocritical in condemning violence which it itself perpetrated. Prof. Hacker had identified this problem as the "label swindle".

In affluent western society, he believed that governments, institutions and public figures should set an example in sober life-styles. This was also a matter for churches and humanitarian institutions to follow.

There should be European cooperation in the exchange of information on violence and terrorism without going so far however as to suggest the influence of a police-state degree of bureaucratic control. This called for close cooperation between governments and institutions. The Council of Europe represented in his view the ideal platform for such cooperation.

He particularly underlined Prof. Schweitzer's observation that the weakness of democracy should be accepted as the price of freedom. The open society was indeed open also to intruders. But freedom of expression, of press, of religion was also freedom from fear.

Mr Carlsson presented his conclusions from the standpoint of research in the field.

The underlying question was whether there really was today more violence in society, or were people only now more concerned by violence, or was it that violence now took other forms. While research could not identify a quantitative change, certain differences could be noted. The media explosion meant that everyone was now aware of violence in the world. Violence had also changed from direct individual violence towards collective forms of violence or the use of weapons in individual conflicts which distanced the attacker from his victim. Another development was that violence by young people was more directed against property and adults than ever before. This was not to overlook the fact that the worst forms of violence, affecting most people in the world, remained the violence conducted by society or its opponents: wars and terrorism.

One way of approaching violence in society, was to regard people as they grew up as belonging to a series of different societies with different influences. The process began at home in the family. The problem was that now TV had been placed within the four walls of the home. In listing the possible causes for violence, he therefore would begin, with the educational effect of the media, followed by the violence administered by parental correction. At subsequent stages came the frustration of the school environment, and the unproductivity of a childhood faced with the ultimate prospect of unemployment. All these factors were he believed interrelated; and research had unfortunately so far tended to concentrate on the identification of single causes.

There were two long-term dangers facing democratic society. The first was the lowering of the threshold of acceptability of violence: the desensitising process. A second danger lay in over-estimating violence and over-reacting to it.

The new media offered new risks and increased these dangers, but also offered new possibilities.

Even if the results of research to date were not entirely conclusive, much more was now known than ever before and much was certain. It was essential to act on this basis rather than procrastinate.

Mrs Anèr indicated the points she was considering to follow up in her report to the committee on possible government action in the specific fields of the media and education. She was well aware of the many other factors for violence in society such as unemployment and organised anti-social groups.

On the question of the media, there was a need for more independently sponsored research, although she believed the general message was already clear. Codes or guidelines for the media had to be accepted covering all European countries, the content of such codes being a subject for further discussion. Care should be taken to ensure that any new media be brought within similar guidelines. A special effort was necessary to protect young children from the dangerous effects of the media. Parents were to be encouraged to help their children understand TV, as well as to encourage alternative and more active pursuits. More controversial questions were: whether there should be any censorship; whether independent monitoring services were called for; whether private and commercial broadcasting should be proscribed; and whether it was possible to teach non-violent behaviour through the media.

On the educational side, there was again the question of how to introduce in schools training on non-violent behaviour and on non-violent problem solving. Punishments in school should be of a non-violent nature. Education should include media appreciation and possibly amateur production of audio-visual material. Young people should be encouraged to participate and share some responsibility in school life.

Questions had also been raised about the future role of such institutions as the church, although she did not feel this was an appropriate field in which to make recommendations to governments.

Mr McGuire objected that the hearing had not yet sufficiently considered the central question of whether what was shown on television made people more violent or had any effect on society. He disagreed with Mr Voogd's view that adults were mature enough to choose what they watched; he believed that it was the duty of society to protect people against themselves, for example through legislation on drugs or seat belts. He therefore repeated the question he had put earlier and asked why violence and sex were not to be included in legislation that condemned media mishandling of religion, race, and colour.

Mr Francis said that either by legislation or by self-imposed regulation, most broadcasing institutions in Europe were constrained to work to some form of general ethical principle. He quoted two extracts from the BBC licence by way of example:

"The Board of Governors accept that, as far as possible, the programmes for which they are responsible should not offend against good taste or decency, or be likely to encourage or incite to crime or lead to disorder or be offensive to public feeling"...

"While the Board recognised that in an ever-changing society it is impossible to ensure that what is inoffensive to one person will never offend another, they are determined to keep under constant review the standard of all broadcast programmes, and the reactions of the public to them, along with the systems of control needed to maintain their broadcasting services at a high standard."

He believed that this example represented a realistic approach to the question raised by Mr McGuire.

In discussion of censorship it was important to distinguish between total banning, and graduated restriction depending on age or time of showing, between controls on on-line material and off-line, between state imposed controls and those the broadcasting organisation might impose on itself.

He pointed out that direct state censorship for political reasons had in the UK been twice ruled out recently (for reporting on Northern Ireland and over the Falklands). In the UK it was generally accepted that censorship of that sort could have dangerous consequences for democracy.

A call had been made during the hearing for common European guidelines. While welcoming proposals for guidelines that a body such as the Council of Europe might make, he pointed out that such guidelines would have to be interpreted by each country and that such interpretation would vary. There were no such things as objective common European values.

He also wished to correct the impression left by Mr Voogd on his view of the effects of television. The immediate effect was indeed he believed to speed up public perception of an event; but extended exposure to media violence tended to desensitise the audience.

Prof. Heiskanen found Mr Francis' position a sound practical reaction to the problem. On the more abstract level, he wished to add as a political scientist rather than practitioner that democracy, however weak, was based on freedom of expression. If this freedom was taken away, so too was a means for people to defend themselves against other infringements of their liberty. In the area of freedom of expression it was important to tread very carefully and, if any restrictions were required, they should be as weak as possible. This was very relevant to the problem of violence on the media where debate was still wide open over its effect, and over whether this effect was negative or possibly positive.

Mr Voogd replied to Mr McGuire by asking who should be the judge of what should be shown except democratically elected parliament. Responsibility also lay with parents, teachers, and the

independent judiciary. In democracy he felt it was fair to appeal to, and rely on, the responsibility of the citizen.

Mr de Areilza thanked participants and brought the hearing to a close by pointing out that the issues raised would now be further considered within the Committee on Culture and Education.

He had himself been impressed by the danger as identified by Prof. Schweitzer of over-reacting to violence by appealing for excessive state control. He agreed with Mrs Urben that it was absurd to discuss youth policy without the real participation in that dialogue of young people. The non-alienation of young people, as Mr Grieve had rightly said, was a lesson politicians should constantly bear in mind. He entirely supported Mr Voogd on the preservation of civil liberties in free democratic society; but civil liberties also implied civil duties and responsibility.

In the modern world, terrorism represented the most extreme form of violence. It was a direct threat to democracy in so far as it was organised violence. The Council of Europe was profoundly concerned with this question which called above all for close European cooperation.

The present hearing had placed considerable emphasis on violence in the media. He hoped that the Council of Europe would be able in due course to contribute towards agreement on guidelines acceptable throughout Europe. The challenge posed by the new media technology was a challenge to European society. There was clearly need for urgency given the very considerable commercial interests that were also involved.

As a reason for tension and a cause of violence in the modern world, he himself thought immediately of the tremendous psychological weight on humanity of the possibility of nuclear warfare. Against such a backcloth, individual violence might seem almost insignificant. This was a question the church was examining. It was also substance for the Council of Europe to consider in terms of its fundamental concern for peace and the respect of individual human rights.

In conclusion he expressed thanks to the hospitality of Assisi, City of Peace, where 800 years ago St. Francis had discovered that the essence of human life lay in harmony with nature. This was an appropriate place and moment for the Council of Europe to repeat its dedication to peace. But to fight for peace it was necessary for each individual to come to be at peace within himself.

2. SUMMARY OF AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH Mr BLIN AND Mr STAPLETON

(Paris, 10 November 1982)

The Chairman (Mr Aano) welcomed Mr Blin, Responsible for external relations of TF1 (France) and Chairman of the Council of Europe intergovernmental Committee of Experts on Media Policy, who had been prevented at the last moment from attending the hearing in Assisi. He also introduced Mr. Stapleton, as an observer from the Quaker Council for European Affairs which had presented a proposal to follow up Assisi.

Mrs. Aner briefly presented a draft outline of her contribution to the report which would deal mainly with the questions of the media and of education for non-violence. She felt that an approach on the European level was necessary both to establish a united European front on such aspects as codes of conduct for the media and also for the moral support it might give to independent associations monitoring media. She was very aware of the need to find a compromise between the wishes of viewers, the demands of creative artists for free expression and the establishment of effective accountability for the media. She hoped that at this stage, discussion could concentrate on elements for recommendation.

Mr McGuire noted that discussion in Assisi had brought out a difference in approach between those, as Prof. Hacker, who appeared to condemn all forms of violence, and those such as himself, who felt that often violence was the only way the state could protect the wider community: it was reasonable for the police, for example, to resort to violence in containing the mindless violence of football hooliganism.

Mr Jessel felt much could be gained from a united Assembly position on the main point, that of ensuring independent monitoring of the media, but feared that the moral force of such a position would be undermined if any suggestion were made of there being a moral equivalence between criminal violence and the use of force by the police to maintain law and order.

Mr. Blin welcomed the opportunity to contribute to the discussion at this stage as the final recommendation of the Assembly would most likely be passed directly to the intergovernmental committees on mass-media in which he was involved. He felt that the immediate reactions of the experts in these committees to the present recommendation would be to leap to the defence of freedom of expression and to be extremely reluctant to imposing any sort of role on the media. He referred the Committee to the Declaration on Freedom of Expression adopted by the Committee of Ministers in April 1982 but more particularly to Article 10.2 of the European Convention on Human Rights. This Article accepted restrictions on human rights in the interests of national security, public safety and prevention of disorder or crime. Such restrictions also applied to violence on the media.

While criticism of the media and suggestions of ways in which they might be improved could be acceptable, he suggested that it was wrong to consider the broadcasting media in isolation of other media such as the written press, photography, advertising, cinema, comics, crime or science fiction literature, festivals of horror films, or war toys.

On the definition of violence, he felt that it was necessary to distinguish between licit (if not legal) violence, illicit violence and natural violence (such as might result from natural disasters). He accepted that the showing of all forms of violence had the effect after a period of desensitising the public. The significant influence of television was the cumulative effect rather than the immediate.

European media experts were, in his view, generally prepared to accept restrictions on media through legislation on national levels. This was therefore an area on which the Committee could usefully concentrate certain recommendations.

He also himself felt that more attention should be drawn not so much to the content of programmes but to the people who made them. While recognising the importance of freedom of expression, the Committee might stress the need for training journalists, creative artists and programme makers in the media and in the effects of the media. There was also a need for educating the public in the use of the media and he hoped himself to be making proposals for greater creative use of the media at a coming Unesco conference.

On the status of the media organisations, he pointed out that in most European countries the concept of public service dominated, and this implied the application of certain rules of conduct. He therefore supported the call for a more general European code of conduct but suggested that this be obtained from encouraging closer co-operation between broadcasting organisations rather than on the basis of intergovernmental agreement.

Mr. Lopez Henares felt that as the mass media had such an important role in forming society, those responsible for the media should be more aware of their responsibility. At the very least they should accept restrictions on freedom of expression that would prevent the media actually contributing towards violence in society. He recognised the importance of freedom of expression but feared that this principle was often abused in order to permit freedom for the major commercial interests involved in the media.

The Chairman asked whether the Council of Europe intergovernmental committee of media experts would not accept to make a distinction between safeguarding genuine freedom of expression and preventing its misuse. There was much public debate in Norway at present concerning imported video material of live murders and cannibalism which, he felt, was a clear abuse of artistic freedom of expression.

From a recent visit to New York he had been struck by the extent to which the media distorted reality. The media image of that city was of violence and crime and as a result people only ventured out cautiously at night; however he had seen no signs of violence to justify this image.

Mr. Worrell recognised that education represented a positive approach to the problem of how young people interpreted violence on the media. He felt however that there was room also for the direct approach through legislation to protect young people, and hoped that this report would indicate what the Committee of Ministers, governments and individual parliamentarians could do.

Mr. van der Sanden suggested that a distinction could be drawn on the basis of Articles 10.1 and 10.2 of the European Convention on Human Rights, between the free flow of information and liberty of artistic expression. Restrictions might be more acceptable in this second area, which was where most unnecessary media violence occured.

He was sceptical about the feasibility of self-imposed codes of conduct or guidelines drawn up by the media. The code produced by the International Federation of European Journalists in 1954 had never really been finalised or satisfactorily implemented.

Mr Gadient did not feel that Article 10.2 of the Convention gave governments sufficient room to intervene effectively. He strongly believed that freedom had to be limited when liberty became licence and human dignity was at stake. If a regulatory legislative approach had to be adopted, it should also be flexible. The vital point, in his view, remained public opinion: in the past it had been public interest for violence that had encouraged the media to produce violent material; if it was not perhaps realistic to expect this public attitude to be changed overnight through education, at least a start could be made with emphasis on making the media producers themselves more responsible.

Mr. Jessel believed that the media gave a false impression and, by making violence seem normal, encouraged its acceptibility. In Northern Ireland many more people were killed through road accidents than as a result of terrorism, although this was not to be deduced from media coverage. He felt it was important to bring young people back to the idea that violence was not normal. Mrs. Aner's report should also consider how to reestablish the sanctions of disapproval or punishment that were disappearing from modern society.

Mr. Blin commented in detail. He agreed that it was not a sufficient defence of the media to claim that they simply reflected the real violence in modern society. He felt however that violence in the media was not simply a matter of numbers of violent acts per minute; much more depended on how violence was presented, both its context (for example the violence of the Falklands War) and what was made of it (he cited as an example a BBC production called "The late bus" which involved interviews with the passengers who had not intervened to defend a driver attacked by hooligans). He admitted, however, that there were bad examples: an anarchistic French radio station had recently broadcast instructions for making bombs and for the formation of subversive groups.

As sanctions against such media violence, there was legislation, also guidelines and public opinion. He suggested that it would be useful for a comparative study to be undertaken of what already existed in member countries, including the recent setting up in France of a High Authority for Broadcasting. Legislation could certainly be extended to include the new media in particular as far as they affected children. He preferred to interpret Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights in as broad a way as possible: if necessary existing legislation could be extended to enable it to apply to the media.

He was very much in favour of guidelines, but did not feel that new structures involving governments should be set up for their elaboration This should be left to the professionals in the media. The French television directors had produced a study on violence in television comparable to the BBC and IBA guidelines mentioned by Mr. Francis in Assisi. To the criticism that the professionals lacked responsibility, or that not all broadcasting institutions were equally responsible, he pointed out that sanctions existed through the authority issuing or renewing transmission frequencies. Observance of self-imposed guidelines might not be legally binding, but was professionally relevant and this was the strength of the authority of the Press Council, for example, in the United Kingdom.

He also believed that independent associations of viewers, as consumer associations, could play a greater role in reflecting and articulating public opinion and that more use should be made of the various consultative bodies that existed in several member countries.

He placed considerable emphasis on the training of those involved in the media both in terms of university instruction in the civic responsibilities of the media or special media institutions, as by the media themselves through training courses organised by the broadcasting institutions or the professional trade unions involved.

Education was important. He suggested proposals in this area should be related to existing work, for example by Unesco on education in the media where not enough attention was being paid to the violence aspect. Using the media for education was a matter for the professionals in the teaching profession, and not for journalists.

In general he supported the recommendations proposed, although he was less happy about any suggestions of further machinery especially if this was to come from the government side. In many cases recommendations could better be addressed directly to those professionally involved in the media.

The Chairman continued to believe that the media had a duty to recognise that they played an important role in the education process. Whether willingly or otherwise, the media influenced people. He asked if journalists or media professionals were prepared to accept the responsibility they had to encourage society to become less violent.

Mr. Blin believed it would be very dangerous if the journalist took upon himself the role of the educator for which he was in no way trained. He accepted however that the media professionals should be made more aware of the influence they had on their audience.

Mrs. Aner said in reply to Mr. Jessel that she did not believe that there were fewer sanctions or more violence in modern society than before. This did not however deter her from her aim which was to reduce violence. In the field of education, the main emphasis had to be put on non-violent conflict solving, and she therefore very much welcomed the proposal put forward by the QCEA.

Mr Stapleton said that the hearing in Assisi had prompted the QCEA to offer to undertake a survey of existing models in Europe of systematic "Education for co-operation". He felt this formulation was more positive than one involving "non-violence". As a result of the survey, concrete proposals could be made, not, he insisted, for the inclusion of a new subject in the school curriculum but rather for reforming the training of teachers and the approach adopted in existing subjects. Although the QCEA was itself a small organisation, he hoped that an effective survey could be made, at low cost, through a network of correspondents in different countries.

3. STATEMENT BY Mr CALAMANDREI

Rapporteur for the Political Affairs Committee
(Hearing on Violence, Assisi)

I would like to apologise for my absence which was due to unexpected parliamentary commitments. As rapporteur on terrorism for the Council of Europe's Political Affairs Committee, I would also like to put forward very briefly a few opinions and proposals, beginning with the observation that events unfortunately continue to bear out what the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly said in Recommendation 941 adopted last spring, namely that terrorism continues to spread and affect further sectors of life in our democratic societies.

1. Some of the contributions to the hearing do not, in my view, make it sufficiently clear that:

a. terrorism in the modern world, whether it is the work of oppressive regimes or of the forces of subversion, is the second most murderous and dangerous form of violence after war;

b. in the specific context of Western Europe today, there is no form of violence that can be excused on the grounds that it is revolutionary and terrorism in whatever guise should be condemned as an attack on democracy and human rights.

2. More generally, it seems to me that such condemnation is still neither strong enough nor widely enough reflected in our countries' cultures (indeed, some literary and cinematographic works still tend in my view to offer a kind of defence or justification of terrorism). I feel that even religious leaders' denunciations of terrorism in our countries are not in all cases as clear and unequivocal as they should be.

3. With regard to the media (the press, radio and television) in member states, I think that their coverage of terrorism has, on the whole, moved towards acceptance of the responsible guidelines very clearly laid down for the BBC by Richard Francis. The weak link is still, in my opinion, the way the media in member states present and comment on acts of terrorism in other democratic member countries: with regard to anti-terrorist measures in other democratic countries, there is still occasionally a tendency to report accusations of repression and even of the use of torture culled from local sources which are, to say the least, unreliable.

4. As regards proposals and suggestions, I think that the Council of Europe could make combating violence the subject for a European Schools Day: secondary pupils in member countries would be asked to write on the specific problem of violence. National prize-winning entries could be submitted for a European prize. Furthermore, consideration might be given to awarding other prizes to literary and cinematographic works devoted to combating violence.

MESSAGGIO DEL SEN. CALAMANDREI

Trattenuto da impegni parlamentari sopravvenuti desidero scusarmi per l'assenza. Desidero anche nella mia qualità di relatore sulla questione del terrorismo della Commissione politica del Consiglio d'Europa esprimere in modo molto sintetico alcune opinione e proposte, partendo dalla costatazione che gli avvenimenti continuano purtroppo a confermare l'evoluzione dell'Assemblea parlementare del Consiglio d'Europa nella sua Raccomandazione 941 della scorsa primavera, nel senso che il terrorismo non cessa di estendersi a nuovo settori della vita delle nostre società democratiche :

1) In alcuni dei contributi stretti all'audizi ne non mi sembra emerga adequatamente che :

a. il terrorismo è oggi nel mondo, sia che provenga de regimi oppressivi oppure da forze eversive, l'espressione più micidiale e pericolosa della violenza, dupo la guerra ;

b. nella specifica situazione dell'occidente europeo oggi non puo' esistere una violenza giustificabile come rivoluzionaria e qualsiasi denominazione del terrorismo è da condannare come un attacco alla democrazia e ai diritti dell'uomo.

2) Più in generale mi pare che tale condanna non sia ancora abbastanza rigorosa né diffusa nella cultura dei nostri paesi (in alcune espressioni letterarie e del cinema prevale invece secondo me una problematica del terrorismo ancora tendenzialmente giustificazionista). Anche nella prospettiva religiosa non mi pare che la condanna - sempre quanto al terrorismo dei nostri paesi - sia in tutti i casi netta e indiscriminata.

3) Sui media (stampa e radio-TV) nei paesi membri credo che il loro senso di responsabilità contro il terrorismo sia in questi anni complessivamente progredito nella direzione molto ben delineata per la BBC da Richard Francis. L'aspetto debole rimane a mio avviso quello concernente la informazione e il commento da parte di media di un paese membro sul terrorismo in altri paesi membri democratici : si nota a volte ancora una tendenza a raccogliere sull'azione antiterrorismo in altri paesi membri accuse di ripressivismo e addirittura di ricorso alla tortura provenienti da fonti a dir poco non responsibili di quei paesi.

4) In materia di proposte e suggerimenti credo che il Consiglio d'Europa potrebbe istituire una giornata europea della scuola contro la violenza nella quale verrebbe chiesto ai giovani nelle scuole secondarie dei paesi membri si svolgere un tema appunto sulla violenza. Tramite soluzioni nazionali si potrebbe arrivare a una premiazione europea. Si potrebbe inoltre pensare all'assegnazione di premi anche ad opere letterarie e cinematografiche particolarmente impegnate contro la violenza.

## 4. PAPERS PRESENTED IN ASSISI BY CONSULTANT EXPERTS

## 4.1. ABOUT VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION

Dr. Frederick J Hacker

I. Whether or not violence has increased or decreased as compared to former times is a vehemently discussed but essentially unanswerable question since it depends on how you define violence and what standards you use to measure it. Rapid technological advances including techniques for sophisticated psychological manipulation have, however, certainly increased the range and importance, that is the danger of violence. Every day, even every minute adds a few more examples showing that the naive belief in violence becoming obsolete through the automatic process of civilisation has been sadly mistaken. To the contrary, our age seems characterised not only by the enormous expansion of the world's population and by the equally enormous increment of available information, but particularly by the spectacular explosion of presumably legitimate violence. Through easily available and widely used means of propaganda and mass manipulation, every kind of brutality has become justifiable everywhere.

It is our main thesis that by virtue of available or manufactured justification, violence originates, explodes and expands under the umbrella of subjectively believed legitimation and appears today more than ever before, and to more people than ever before, as the preferred or even as the only way of conflict resolution.

First an important distinction is necessary between aggression and violence. All violence is aggressive, but not all aggression is violent: there are aggressive and non-aggressive alternatives to violence. Essential and inevitable aggression manifests itself in innumerable forms, such as verbal aggression, competition, and aggressive pursuits, that are non-violent and may be individually and collectively productive and creative.

Agression is what the other does. This aggressive, simplistic statement is inspired by a combination of many extremely complicated processess that never emerge into consciousness. Against all reason and research, violent action is based on evidence of this overwhelming gut feeling: it is the other who is wrong; it is the other who is aggressive or "really" aggressive. Just because the real situation is immensely complicated, self-righteousness demands - particularly extreme, stereotypical simplification.

Aggression is a species-specific, programmed disposition or proclivity elicited by a great number of socially mediated and regulated stimuli. According to the present state of knowledge, which throws some doubts on the validity of the concept of instinct, aggression is not an instinct in the strict sense of the word because there are no specific brain regions or other mechanisms and substances that, through internal stimulation, generate specifically aggressive behaviour. But the ubiquity of aggression in all cultures strongly suggests biological anchorage, although certainly not any exclusively or even predominantly biological determination of aggressive strivings. Of course, every aggressive manifestation is also learned behaviour. The interest of modern scholars is centred on those social settings and culturally mediated symbols and other stimuli that favour, inhibit, or sublimate aggressive impulses.

II. Presumably violence should have no place in civilised society; that is what everybody says while at the same time threatening violence or engaging in violent conduct. Why? Because the alleged taboo on violence has its socially-approved exceptions; violence is considered not only permissible but required for educational purposes, for self-defence, for self-preservation, self-assertion and for the "defence" of higher causes. The formerly tabooed and inhibited violence is then actually commanded by society through the process of legitimation and justification. The unholy alliance of violence with its justification starts in early childhood. From then justification, real or imaginary, will be found without fail; in later life violence will occur only when it can be justified to the satisfaction of the prepetrator. Thus violence actually is the problem for which it claims to be the solution; violence is like an infectious disease which is made epidemic by justification that creates and escalates what it wants to hide, namely one's own violence.

III. Not all aggression results from anger and rage: it can be part of a design or the outcome of deliberate calculation. Aggression is not always an explosive and symptomatic response to intolerable frustration and pressure; aggression can be strategic, goal-directed, and intentionally employed in order to accomplish a purpose or to fulfill a function. Strategic aggression is often quite rational, serving inteligible and intelligent purposes; latent strategic aggression, often called structural aggression, is contained in social organisations and institututions, laws, and property arrangements.

The ideal type of (a) symtomatic aggression (usually hot); (b) strategic aggression (usually cold and calculated); and (c) structural aggression (usually latent) are in reality not clearly or cleanly separated from each other. Successful strategic aggression creates the conditions for future structural aggression, as for instance expressed in the game rules of a society that has been established by strategic aggression. The beneficiaries of such structural aggression may not be aware of its existence at all any more as time goes on, while those disadvantaged or hurt by such arrangements, may experience the status quo as intolerable and intolerably aggressive injustice. Those that want to change or overthrow the status quo will call their violence justified by the defence of such higher values as freedom, justice, equality, etc., while the defendants of the status quo will invoke self-defence, patriotism, protection of country and honour, service to God, etc., as justification for their violence. Everybody will accuse the other of "really" having started violence by manifest or latent aggression. From the cradle to the international political arena, there is constant preoccupation with the question who struck first. The answer is always "not me". There are no more ministries of war but every county has a Department of Defence. Everybody merely defends himself or his country or the cause for which he crusades. Nobody ever is responsible for an attack because it is presumably always the other who has started it. That is what makes him the other. The circle is closed. Aggression is what the other does.

IV. In spite of the wide ranging controverry about whether aggression is more exclusively attributable to nature or to nurture, to innate, inborn, constitutional factors, or to acquired, learned behaviour patterns, the best current scientific opinion seems to say that the disposition for aggressive behaviour is biologically anchored but mobilised only under certain external conditions that are largely determined by educational and institutional arrangements which are supposed to handle anxiety, frustration, and aggression control. The formal and informal social organisations of education, family, professional life, church and state, and also those of sports and play, entertainment, etc., provide regular channels for aggressive control regardless of whether these control measures were originally imposed by superior force or agreed upon by voluntary social contract. Social institutions absorb and direct individual aggression, which is thus structured, and as it were, tamed, presumably becoming productive, reasonable, altruistic and non-violent under the guidance of these institutions. The internal institution of conscience and the external institutions of society bind free aggression, transforming individual into collective aggression. The organisation compensates the individual who voluntarily or forcibly has to renounce some freedom of aggressive expression for this loss by gains in security, stability, and solidarity, as well as by practical guidance provided by the constancy and protection of the powerful organisation to which he belongs. The organisation fulfills its function of aggression control by permitting expression of aggression under certain circumstances and rules as defined by the organisation and by justifying aggression in the service of the organisation. Aggression that is institutionally justified, either by the internal agency of one's own conscience, or by social institutions that represent "higher causes", is regularly labelled as necessity, duty, inevitability, etc., and is not experienced at all as aggressive any longer, so that even the very awareness of aggressiveness, even violence, is abolished and completely disappears, creating the fatally "good conscience" which permits unbounded violence and the perpetration of incredible crimes under the guise of presumably legitimate aggression. In that manner, institutions that originally were designed to control violence, then also initiate, propagate, perpetrate and perpetuate violence, by justifying it as mere defensive retaliation, as survival necessity, or as vital need to serve an exalted purpose.

Modern expressions of violence are indissolubly tied to justification. There is hardly any violence that someone, somewhere will not attempt to justify as defensive, educational, or serving a higher cause. By the same token, there is hardly any justification scheme that will not condone violence. We teach our children to eschew violence except in certain circumstances, and these exceptions become the conditions for the use of violence in adult life. Because the child has learned that it is not only permissible but desirable to be aggressive in self-defence and in the service of an honourable cause, the adult uses the same rationale to justify every aggressive act.

Not all aggression is manifest and visible; most of it is concealed by false labels or otherwise hidden away. At the individual level, the conscience permits only the expression of "legitimate" aggression, legitimised by some cause or social group. Social institutions and organisations, reflecting the conditions of their origins in force, authorise violence for the maintenance of their power. Permission for individual violence is granted in the service of the institution, which is held together by its structural aggression.

V. There is more than mere generational conflict or any extension of the puberty period with Oedipal rebellion underlying the widespread dissatisfaction of youth in Western society, which at times expresses itself in protests and occasionaly even in violence. Youngsters who do not anymore form a monolithic group, which the establishment describes as incomprehensible and inscrutable, have become sensitive to two pervasive characteristics of the violence saturated adult world:

a. The perversions of institutions that should control aggression but instead condone and justify violence; and

b. The practice of label swindle, which is perceived as sheer hypocrisy.

(ad a) There is no way in which the armament race, with its threat of an atomic holocaust, can be explained except by justification of the presumably defensive purposes claimed by every power and every super-power. By the monopoly of violence the state holds in trust, individual citizens are supposed to be sheltered and protected. Yet it is this very state that engages in a murderous and suicidal arms race, shifting all responsibility on a presumably aggressive opponent who in turn prepares itself for violence for defensive purposes only. How can such an institution still command the trust and confidence of its democratically enlightened citizens when its protective function is diverted into a dangerous game with destructive weapons that may wipe out its citizens and all of mankind?

(ad b) When cruelty and aggression by the establishment is measured with different standards than cruelty and agression against the establisment the surplus structural aggression contained in certain societal arrangemen becomes manifest and made worse by the ease with which presumably legitimat violence can be mislabelled as necessity or performance of duty, or else even be glorified as requirement of law and order and as selfless service to the community. Many youngsters correctly perceive the excess of structural aggression (inevitably every social arrangement contains some structural aggression) and react to the hypocrisy of concealing and denying it by not wanting to have anything to do with the institutions (and their representatives) as promote and justify the violence they are supposed to control and eliminate

The older folks, the establishment generations, are justly proud that in the United States, and particularly in Western Europe, they have succeeded in establishing governmental and economic systems that guarantee greater political freedom and material wealth (and security) than ever known in history, in fact greater than ever believed possible a few decades ago when outrageous tyranny and economic disaster were depressing realities in Europe. Yet young people, having come to accept and expect freedom of expression and a certain degree of economic security as matters of course, feel themselves surrounded, cornered, and in fact, oppressed by the overwhelming presence and interference of the ever present powerful state, by cold and impersonal rules, regulations and standards, by the merciless demands of aggressive competition and commericalism, by the inhuman, environment destroying technological developments that nobody seems able or willing to control.

They, the youngsters, feel themselves dehumanised by the establishment, deprived of possibilities for creative expression, robbed of any opportunities to make themselves and their wishes felt and heard. They are a restless anonymous mass looking for commitment and identity unable to clearly indicate what they really want but quite outspoken in telling what they do not want; ie, the offerings of society that they are expected to accept quietly if not with gratitude for the accomplishments of their elders. However, most of the young people, surprisingly enough, do just that; they adjust themselves not with enthusiasm but without giving much trouble; they have resigned themselves to being helpless and impotent. But a vociferous minority of youngsters protest freely and at times irrationally against what they perceive to be intolerable structural aggression (called necessity, nature or law of life, as reasoned by the establishment) which they consider unnecessary, irrational, hostile, overly aggressive in fact violent, so that in turn many of the violent acts of protest automatically become (to their way of thinking and feeling) counter-violence or legitimate aggression for self-defence.

The role of mass media, so crucial and decisive for the spread, glorification and justification of violence, has, with excellent reason, attracted much attention and discussion. Particularly electronic mass media that are the main babysitters, educators, news conveyors, entertainers, and propaganda agents of the first, second, third and any other world, have, due to their insatiability for material and inbuilt preference for sensationalism and dramatic, spectacular actions. Many years ago, I have suggested that violence is the secret message of the mass media because the presumably media-imposed need to stimulate excitement and to solve every depicted problem decisively within a short period of time, necessarily favours violence as the preferred or as the only problem solution. For several decades now, researchers have been arguing whether show business violence is actually imitated and raises the aggressive level of normal people or, as media representatives fondly hope, serves a cathartic purpose which actually diminishes real violence. For years, all serious reports (as the most recent in the United States by the National Coalition on Television Violence and by the National Institute of Mental Health updating the Surgeon General's report) have by unanimous agreement of the assembled scientists on the basis of overwhelming evidence found an important cause-effect relationship between TV violence and real life aggression. In the meantime, the formerly, at least partly hidden message, has become pretty overt; the level of TV violence in the United States has increased by 25 per cent over the last year to the highest level in television history, and is on network prime time, 400 per cent higher than comparable Canadian network; commercial programmes are nine times more violent than publicly sponsored and produced programmes (children's programmes setting a new record with the introduction of several new high-violence cartoons). Relations between high-level violence on TV and high-level, steadily rising criminality rates, are suggestive if not necessarily scientifically provable. TV, while dramatically exaggerating and justifying the real-life rate of aggression, actually promotes violence and by self-fulfillment of media prophesy, real life soon conforms to the expectations of TV's dramatic presentations. But as long as free societies decide to be mainly entertained by violence, they will have to pay a very high price in individual and collective violence for their societal pleasure.

VI. Several "ideal types" of groups and their differing attitudes in regard to violence can be distinguished:

1. The "nature" group, believers in the immutability of human nature: they feel that from time immemorial, the human being has not changed, cannot change, does not want to change, and will not change. In this view, man (and woman) have remained what they always have been: highly aggressive, even violent animals with their real nature, ie, violence breaking regularly or periodically through the thin veneer of civilised conduct.

2. The "nurture" group, believing that aggressive behaviour is exclusively the result of childhood and later frustration, and could at least in principle be abolished by appropriate education and social measures. This group, inclined to disregard all historical, social and individual experience, pointing to a biological anchorage or disposition for aggression (if not an instinctual endowment), remains helplessly incredulous in regard to the undeniable further existence and the mounting importance of violence in individual and collective life. They apparently do not see that the educational and social arrangements, which they hold solely responsible for violence, are themselves at least partly expressions of (not necessarily fixed) strong biological and psychological needs.

3. The largest group that does not care much about the conflicting views of the naturalists or nurturalists, but self-righteously feel that their cause is just and of the highest order, that their own violence is always defensive or educational and that whenever they are engaged in aggressive pursuits, it is because they have been attacked first and have to fight for their self-preservation. They want to go on with their self-justifying label swindle, calling their aggression duty, necessity, obligation, etc., most of the time without knowing that they are playing the justification game, not realising that they consider their cause just and righteous, just because it is theirs.

4. The group that by total refusal to engage in or endorse any violence intends to disarm any opponent by the example of determined and if necessary unilateral non-violence. While the moral stance of this small group deserves highest praise, it is very questionable whether this approach is or ever has been so far successful in realistically dealing with violent situations. The often quoted example of Gandhi is not convincing insofar as his British opponents granted him full access to the media to publicise his acts and did not deny him many civic rights, feeling themselves bound by at least certain basic rules of fair play that are totally disregarded by totalitarian régimes. Rational reasoning has to take the existence of irrationality into account, and even the best intentions dare not ignore the existence of evil; hence, while in the vast majority of cases, justification for violence is the result of mistaken judgement, rationalisation and label swindle, there are cases (probably one in a hundred) in which justiciation (to be determined by independent, impartial bodies or agencies) actually is valid and violence permissible or even necessary as a last resort.

5. A small but hopefully growing group (certainly not confined to behavioural scientists only) that while recognising the ubiquitousness, inevitability, and possibly even a positive value of aggression, sees no productive function at all in inhuman and dehumanising violence which is merely the most primitive, regressed and simplest form of aggression. These "optomists" advocate ongoing encouragement of aggressive expression (and even training in aggressive modes, in work, performance, competition, social institutions like law, family, associations, etc.) which reduce and eventually eliminate the need for violence as demonstrated even now in certain settings and certain times. In these endeavours, that are based on the understanding of the various transformation and concealment processes of aggressive vicissitudes, particular emphasis is placed on interrupting the vicious cycle between violence and its justification which by creating counter-violence, escalates the general violence level and leads to destructive and self-destructive brutalisation.

## Aphorisms on violence

1. Violence claims to be the solution to a problem; it is itself the problem.

2. Problems that cannot be solved otherwise than by violence must be restated in a new form.

3. Naked violence is the visible, open, "free" form of aggression. Not all aggression is violence, but all violence is aggression.

4. Violence is contagious like the plague; it owes its virulence to the appearance of justification; that appearance gives it an epidemic character.

5. Counter-violence regards itself as justified, but it is also violence.

6. Criminal violence is outlawed: calling violence by another name is tantamount to justifying it.

7. The justification engendered and increases out of all proportion that which it seeks to deny and conceal: the violence for which it is a cover.

8. Justified violence leads to imitations: imitations of violence and of its justification.

9. The justification of violence depends on subterfuge: labels are changed and our own violence is presented as a necessity, a natural right, a duty, self-defence or a sacrifice to higher goals.

10. To deny and repress our own aggression towards our enemy is to multiply the probabilities of what is regarded as "counter-violence".

11. Violence is simple; the methods that might be preferred to it are complex.

12. The opposite of complexity is aggressive simplification and not true simplicity. Violence is the price of that simplification.

13. To mask and monopolise aggression by repudiating, disguising and concealing it on the pretext of curbing violence is to create and justify violence.

14. The relationship between the explosion of brutal violence and the methodical action of calculated violence is that which exists between symptom and strategy.

15. The strategy may determine and utilise the symptoms; in the use of symptomatic violence, manipulation is provided with spontaneous expression.

16. Reason can be a preferable method to violence provided it is not its advocate and accomplice.

17. To teach non-violence by means of violence is to perpetuate the violence one wishes to eliminate; once the method is adopted, the purpose of the teaching is forgotten.

18. The need for violence as a response to violence is coming to be the natural condition of violence.

19. Once exceptions to the taboos of violence are permitted, they become rules of the practice of violence.

20. To preach absolute non-violence and require it of others is to conceal our own aggression and prepare for the use of violence by justifying it in advance as counter-violence.

21. Those who lack the power to resort to violence are in no position to prevent the escalation of violence and the upsurge of brutality. Those who hold such power are in a position to do so, provided they limit and reject the use of violence.

22. The mass media preach violence without admitting that they do so; all their scenarios for solutions to conflict encourage the justified, hasty and even preventive use of violence. The hero is as brutal as the villain; his brutality prevails by effectiveness and speed.

23. To justify violence, one feigns ignorance of the methods that could be preferred to it. To act in a truly adult manner is not to stigmatise others, but to eschew ready-made formulae and misleading labels; it is not to shout about intolerance, but to encourage a great tolerance towards the complexity of human beings.

24. The language of violence is not a language; he who understands only violence is a mindless automaton and emotionally illiterate.

25. We can study violence fruitfully without imitating it or yielding to it.

## 4.2. THE VIEWPOINT OF YOUNG PEOPLE

Laurence Eberhard

In France 60% of the prison population are young people and nearly 50% are between 21 and 30 years of age.

You can adjust or at least qualify these figures, but you cannot remain indifferent to them, especially if you yourself are the same age and trying through your daily work in a youth organisation to help young people realise their ambitions, to contribute to their development and to ensure that they live well wherever they are and are not outcasts.

That is where the challenge lies and I do not think that there is a single youth organisation which fails to take it up. The few pages that follow cannot claim to state the "viewpoint of young people" because there is no viewpoint of young people as such. Of course, a wide-ranging survey would bring out an "average viewpoint" of young people, but that would not take us very far. Consequently, the purpose of this contribution is not to generalise young people's responses to this question of violence, but to give some very practical examples of what youth organisations are doing in this area and what they feel their role should be. We thought it would be useful to show how our work in the field could provide food for thought and - why not - possible solutions.

### TWO POSTULATES

#### I. Violence is not only the illegal act of violence

What do we mean by "violence"? Of the several approaches to the problem, there is a great tendency to place the emphasis on violence associated with crime and delinquency, to the exclusion of other forms.

We need merely mention two other forms here:

- The violence of the city

Delinquency is more prevalent in urban than in rural areas; it is even more prevalent in poor, outlying urban areas than in well-to-do urban areas. "The city is like a big circle whose centre is occupied by those with money, power and knowledge". It gradually relegates to the fringe those with the least money, knowledge and luck and the result is concrete suburbs and dormitory towns. It pushes those on the fringe further and further away because they begin to scare it. So it shuts them up: when all else has failed the city locks its prison gates on those who have broken the law. People become violent in response to the frustrations of everyday life. Of course, the reaction could be different. But at this stage there is no point in looking for excuses; the important thing is to understand.

- The violence of our way of life in general

Its inequalities and injustices foster many different kinds of alienation, thereby increasing the risks of tension and aggression. For example, and this applies primarily to young people, our entire education system, which is supposed to prepare for social and occupational integration, is in fact based on negative teaching methods and ruthless selection. Two hundred thousand young Frenchmen and Frenchwomen leave school each year without any qualification. Between the ages of 16 and 21 they account for 28% of the unemployed, but only 8% of the total working population. On the other hand, the unemployed account for 60% of all offenders.

II. People are not born delinquent, they become so

Being a delinquent at the age of 20 is already the end of a process and the start of a vicious circle. Here again, it is not a question of justifying or excusing, but of understanding what makes a delinquent. Although we must be wary of generalisations, the statistics show that the delinquent is young (60%), from a problem family towards the lower end of the social scale. He has met with successive failures in his upbringing, at school and at work (80% of persons arrested in France are of primary school standard, while only 10% are of secondary school standard or higher). He is a person with no ties, who feels frustrated most of the time and has the impression of not owing anything to anyone, and least of all to "this lousy society", as he calls it, of which he has no expectations. He feels lonely and afraid, even if he refuses to admit it. He looks for others like himself with whom he will pretend to be strong and self-assured. He feels threatened in his existence and defends himself by being provocative and aggressive.

Our experience as a youth organisation shows that once people have entered the world of delinquency it is very difficult to get themselves out. This is a characteristic feature of juvenile delinquency, of which one prison chaplain has said: "This banditry is tending to replace the habitual practices of the old 'underworld'. It is often improvised and obeys no rules of technique, preparation or progression in a criminal career. You go out blindly looking for adventure and, depending on how things turn out, you may content yourself with a minor theft or you may suddenly turn to shooting and killing without any prior thought".

When a person is sent to prison, there is every likelihood that, once released, he will go back there again. When a young person finds himself in a cell with 4 other prisoners or especially, if he is slightly less fortunate, in a dormitory with 40 others, it is very likely that among his fellow inmates there will be some with "useful contacts" and some with scores to settle who are trying to get another gang together. Faced with a system that punishes more than it seeks to educate, prisoners tend to stick together and say to one another: "Once we get out ..."

If by strength of character or with help from family and friends, a person decides to go straight, finding a job, somewhere to live and understanding around him is by no means easy.

I should like to give an example which is merely an individual case (but our work is made up of individual cases) of this chain of delinquency. Michel is 19. He is a "case" on the social worker's books, who has been placed with a foster family since he was 16. With apparently no major problems at school, but from a modest background, he had been directed towards a short vocational training course as a lathe and milling machine operator, the "Royal road" for cases for the social worker. He began to do small jobs with his mates, whose leader he of course was, to get into fights because he was of course the strongest, and "not to give a damn about anything" because that made him look more grown-up and "freer" vis-à-vis those who were punished for

a low mark. He was arrested for the first time when he was 18 and spent a week in prison. On coming out, he found himself in a fix again, swaggered for a week to save face and then attempted suicide. A few days later he was showing off his scars and saying: "Prison, suicide, I've seen it all, you know, ..." Michel was lucky enough to meet up with a youth club organiser. Recently he took part in one of our international youth gatherings. He will be attending a work-camp this summer. In 6 months' time he may well have returned to his second West Side Story role, but the example is still revealing enough about the process of delinquency among young people.

THREE REQUIREMENTS FOR ACTION AGAINST VIOLENCE AND DELINQUENCY

I. Avoid creating a ghetto for the young

While we may agree to identify needs, aspirations, relationships and types of work specific to young people, we refuse to respond to them by shutting young people up in a ghetto which merely accentuates the generation gap and increases alienation. We live in a society that tends to assign people to categories of all kinds, particularly age-groups, and to sever the possible links between them.

One of the basic principles of our work as a youth organisation is "social decompartmentalisation" and hence, to a large extent, decompartmentalisation of the generations. By all means give young people the opportunity to pursue their ambitions and to discover their specific place, not by alienating them with arguments of the kind: "Go and play in the garden, your Dad's busy", but by making them an integral part of a wider scheme. Thus, young people should not be isolated in a club where they can do what they want as long as they do not disturb others; instead, the youth club should be given a number of responsibilites in the communtiy and its members should be forced to respond positively (that is, by proposing something) to people who are different, who think differently and who have different tastes. At the same time, for young people who are accused of doing nothing it is a first realisation of who they are and what they want to do. On that basis, dialogue is possible.

II. Encourage a policy of prevention and of training in responsibility

In the field of petty crime, which is the most prevalent form among young people, favouring prison sentences is tantamount to encouraging the vicious circle that leads from petty to serious crime. Even though prevention is more time-consuming, produces results only in the long term and does not always find favour with the general public, we believe that it is the priority. For crime prevention is also delinquency prevention. It is often said that we have the governments we deserve. It might also be said that we have the prisons and criminals we deserve. Crime is above all an admission of failure on the part of a society and the swelling of the prison population is indicative of a log-jammed society. To pursue a policy of prevention is to permit the steady, peaceful development of our society.

I should like to give a recent, practical example of one aspect of this policy: prevention work based on a motor cycle workshop in the suburbs of Paris. A group of young "drop-outs" had been refused permission by the Mayor to use premises owned by the municipality as a motor cycle workshop. The

young people's reaction was violent. A youth worker succeeded in breaking the deadlock. The youngsters explained their plans again and acquired the premises. This was the start of a much wider project: the premises first had to be renovated. The youngsters did this themselves by inviting all-comers to lend a hand: this was their first gesture towards young people outside the group. To complete the renovation work and purchase the equipment to fit out the workshop, a grant had to be applied for, and that meant learning how to make such an application, how to draw up a budget, how much things cost etc..., which in turn led to reactions such as respect for the equipment because one knew how difficult it had been to get it, a desire to learn to read, write and do sums because that could be useful: a first step towards vocational training ... Lastly, it should be noted that the workshop gave these youngsters the opportunity not only to do their first constructive work, but to do it with other, "socially integrated" youngsters with a common interest in mechanics.

III. Teaching respect for others and solidarity

Teaching respect for others means agreeing to put young people in situations of potential conflict. Education has often been regarded as a means of avoiding conflict. By avoiding contact with people who are different or by practising the eternal art of compromise, from which no one derives any benefit, everyone becomes frustrated and sooner or later something snaps.

What we are trying to do is to show that by not avoiding conflict, but by experiencing it positively, one can limit considerably the violence which often arises from a rejection of what is different.

If a "normal" 16-year-old schoolboy can understand how a boy of the same age becomes a delinquent and can communicate with him (as, for example, in the motor cycle workshop scheme), then he is capable of responses other than condemnation or self-defence.

Enabling 15 youngsters from different countries to join together in working on a local project means enabling them to discover different ways of life and the validity of each one of them. By discovering this, young people are prevented from withdrawing into their own cultural or social identity and this can a first step towards learning solidarity.

o
o o

In conclusion:

It would be useful to stress a few key points:

- All action against violence presupposes a number of conditions and, in particular the existence of structures or organisations that are both competent and sufficiently flexible. It also presupposes resources, institutional arrangements, an overall policy, training of those responsible for such action and the existence of premises for exchanging views, working and comparing and assessing experiences.

- The importance, for us at least as an international youth organisation, is to give recognition to work at international level and to the intercultural nature of that work. Hence the importance of cooperation between international institutions and organisations such as ours.

## 4.3. DISCOURSE ON VIOLENCE AND THE MEDIA

### Development, dimensions, deficiencies, directions

Professor Ilkka Heiskanen

### Introduction

At its present stage, our discourse on violence is a many-layered web of facts and opinion, moral codes and emotional expressions, accusations and defence. If we pause to reflect, we easily notice that it is difficult - in fact well-nigh impossible - to distill objective facts out of this melange. And the facts are especially few and distorted as regards the assumed causal relationship between media violence and violence in society.

I will not, in this paper, address myself directly to the relationship between violence and the media. Instead I will try to tackle the problem indirectly by inquiring: what is our present discourse on violence and the media like (1)? How has it developed, what are its basic dimensions? What are its deficiencies, what are its potential new directions? It would be preposterous to presume to cover these questions thoroughly in only a few pages, with a few sentences and a few, unavoidably over-generalised statements. I wish, however, to indicate the complexity of the issues, the variety of perspectives and the lack of patent solutions.

---

(1) In my presentation I will use the term "discourse" to refer to public discussions and debates on violence and the media. These discussions and debates use established channels (research publications, the mass media, committee reports, conference papers, expert statements), and follow established canons as regards, who can say, what, in which manner and in which role. For the premises of the discourse analysis, see eg Michel Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge, London: Tavistock Publications, 1972, especially pp. 48-49.

This being the starting point, my inquiry may turn out to be too much of an academic exercise. Still, with my few pages, sentences and unavoidably over-generalised statements, I wish to make at least one practical point. This is: if we manage to improve our discourse on violence and the media, we may thus achieve more than by any direct assault on media violence via committees, control and codes. This improvement in turn can be done by pointing out to people involved in the discourse how they actually perceive the issues, how they speak about them and what are the alternative ways of perceiving and speaking. Often the best way to educate is to educate the educators. Maybe the best way to combat violence is to educate those combatting violence - together with those whom they are combatting.

## The recent historical context of the discourse on violence and the media

The history of violence in the media is a part of a larger history, the history of moral censorship. This in turn, at least in our western world, has mainly rested upon a tripod: blasphemy, obscenity and depiction of violence (1). Why this is so can be answered in many manners. The most straightforward answer is that the legs of this tripod are - consciously or unconsciously - perceived as threats to organised society: to spiritual authority (blasphemy), to the family and matrimony (obscenity) and to the legitimate legal and political order (depiction of violence).

Censorship is, however, too strict a word for our present inquiry into the discourse on violence and the media. It is more appropriate to speak about interest in control - or lack of it. This interest seems to vary as regards all legs of the tripod. Usually, when increased interest in control is focused on one, it also appears with regard to the other two. This can be explained in three ways. Firstly, we can interpret the incidence of blasphemy, obscenity and the depiction of violence as symptomatic of a general disintegration of the moral fabric of society.

---

(1) For a profound discussion of this tripod in western literature and thought, see Michel Foucault, "A Preface to Transgression", "Language to Infinity" and "Fantasia of the Library" in Language, Counter-Memory, Practice, Selected Essays and Interviews by Michel Foucault (ed. by Donald F Bouchard) Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1977, pp. 30-52, 53-68, 87-109. For a critical analysis of social science research and for a communication expert opinion, see Thelma McCormick, "Machismo in Media Research. A Critical Review of Research on Violence and Pornography", in Mass Communication Review Yearbook Vol. 1, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1980, pp. 574-585.

Thus they increase simultaneously, are subject to the same repressive discourse and are often jointly controlled. Secondly, we can suggest that varying interest in control is due to the dynamics of liberalism and conservatism in society. A turn towards either extreme launches discussion and controversy; a move to conservatism increases interest in control in all three areas, and a shift to liberalism reduces it. Thirdly, we can assume that the three areas are interlinked by their subject matter: sex and violence coincide in sexual violence, and the depiction of either, when brought to the outermost limits, asserts "the death of God".

I must unfortunately leave the other two legs of the tripod here and focus only on the depiction of violence. However, none of the three can be discussed totally in isolation from the other two, for the roots of violence and its depiction are often in the two prime movers, sexual drive and moral commitment or defiance. I will refer in my analysis indirectly to the joint dynamics of the tripod and it should always be remembered as a general backdrop to all analysis of the western discourses on moral control or censorship.

The recent (post-World War II) history of the discourse on violence and the media focusses to a large extent on media violence and its direct effects. The discussion, in which this narrow focus was particularly marked, boomed in the 1950s and reached its peak by the mid-1960s. This discussion disintegrated and its scope broadened during the latter half of the 1960s and the 1970s. The roots of the present discussion can be found in the above boom, and its present major issues stem from the last fifteen years. Before turning to the issues, we had better first check the roots (1).

The causes of the 1950s boom can be found in:

- the post-World War II artistic and intellectual perspective of violence
- intensification of expressions of public opinion about violence and the media - both separately and jointly
- the development of television
- the development of behavioural research on and communication expertise in violence and the media.

---

(1) I have utilised as my preliminary data base some review articles which portray the development of the discourse on media violence from different perspectives. The most recent short orientations to the discourse are: Douglas A Fuchs and Jack Lyle, "Mass Media Portrayal - Sex and Violence", in F Gerald Kline and Phillip J Tichenor (eds.) Current Perspectives in Mass Communication Research, Vol. 1, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1972, pp. 235-246; F Scott Andison, "TV, Violence and Viewer Aggression. A cumulation of Study Results 1956-1976", Mass Communication Review Yearbook, Vol 1, op.cit. pp. 555-572; Steve H Chaffe, "Mass Media Effects. New Research Perspectives" ibid. 77-108; George Comstock, "Television and its Viewers. What Social Science Sees", ibid pp. 491-507; and Thelma McCormick, op.cit.

"Most arts appeal to the mature. This art appeals at once to every class, mature, immature, developed, underdeveloped, law abiding, criminal .. This art of the motion picture, combining as it does the two fundamental appeals of looking at a picture and listening to a story at once reaches every class in society" (Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America. A Code to Govern the Making of Motion and Talking Pictures, 1951).

"Television is seen and heard in every type of American home. These homes include children and adults of all ages, embrace all races and all varieties of religious faith, and reach those of every educational background." (National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, The Television Code, Preamble, 1954.)

The latter quotation also reveals a root of "impartiality and objectivity" in market economies and western democracies. One must not hurt the pride or faith of any important group of the audience nor incite anybody, who might - with right or not - begin to speak for such a group and blame the media.

A new note to the discourse on violence and the media was introduced by social science research and new communication experts. There was research on media effects already in the 1930s and 1940s, but the final success of the behavioural revolution in the social sciences strongly increased research interest in this area. Social science research and an increased need for information also created a new group of mass media experts, who actively participated in the discourse on violence and the media. Researchers and experts - together with some intellectuals - began to focus narrowly on the effects of media violence. Partly this was due to research orientation: the interest in behavioural learning theories. This research interest probably had some political motivation as well. The research started in the United States. Researchers, experts and intellectuals there were liberals by creed and perceived - at least unconsciously - a positive correlation between MacCarthyism and popular acceptance of violence as private retribution. Consequently they tried - with their research and expertise - to create decency rules for depicting violence in the media. This interest later waned away, when liberalism - in the United States under the guidance of John F Kennedy - managed to get the upperhand (1).

The above causes for the 1950s boom in the discourse on media violence and its direct effects produced a lot of research and persuasive argument (although seldom both together). I will later discuss some of this research and its arguments. We can now, however, turn to examine the disintegration of this discussion and the broadening of its scope. It can be best done by examining first two quotations:

"I do not believe that TV violence - repetitious or not - is harmful. Violence in life exists. People have to understand this. But they also have to understand that there are resources for coping with it. They must know their own resources" (2).

---

(1) For this development, see Frazer, op.cit., p. 4-5.

(2) Psychiatrist Irving Markowitz, as quoted in N S Morris, Television's Child, Boston: Little Brown, 1971, pp. 119.

It has been pointed out, that the post-World War II artistic and intellectual perspective in the victorious western countries was an extremely ambiguous one (1). The atrocities of the war and Nazi "Nacht und Nebel" were still fresh in memory and maintained violence as an ever-salient issue. At the same time, there was a tendency to feel over-saturated with violence and to avoid deeper reflections about its nature and causes. The discussion was abundant, but lacked strongly-felt stances. The war had been a test of manhood and masculinity. When it was over, it was felt somewhat obscene, even a nuisance and a bore. This ambiguity easily led to the formalisation of both the depiction and the discussion of violence.

Even the insensitisation of public opinion concerning violence in the media shows a similar ambiguity. The war had eroded conventional moral codes and allowed greater freedom in all legs of the tripod of moral discourse. At the same time, however, there was - mainly because of war experiences but also because of the new, "senseless" youth rebelliousness - deep concern about the moral and ideological stances of younger generations (2). The rapid economic and social change also bred insecurity and subsequent resort to traditional values and conservatism. The mass media also had a highly ambiguous role in the formation of public opinion on violence in the media. Especially the press dutifully reported cases where private acts of violence (murders, rapes, muggings, etc) could be attributed to the immoralising effect of the media (pulp magazines, films, television series). This increased discussion on all the mass media and their social effects - and especially on the media as educators of violent criminals.

The establishment of the film as the "first truly popular form of art" had launched discussion about the susceptability of the "masses" to some of its "base appeals" (3). The establishment of television as an "alternative way of life" and a main pillar of modern "mobile privacy" brought the issue into a still stronger focus (4). The problem was condensed into a simple form: what is sauce for the gander (the educated, the mature) may not be sauce for the goose (the less-educated masses, the immature). This is reflected beautifully in the following passages from the American moral codes for the two media:

---

(1) The best description of the changes in the intellectual climate and of the effects of these changes on the discourse can be found in John Frazer's book Violence in the Arts, London: Cambridge U Press, 1974. See especially pp. 14-50.

(2) A model example of this concern is Frederick C Wertham's book, Seduction of the Innocent, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1954.

(3) For the early social science research on the visual media, see eg W W Charters, Motion Picture and Youth, New York: MacMillan, 1933 and W S Dysinger and C A Rucknick, Emotional Responses of Children to Motion Picture Situation, New Haven: Yale U Press, 1933.

(4) For a perceptive analysis of the arrival of television and its impact on cultural patterns, see Raymond Williams, Television. Technology and Cultural Form, Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1974.

"Conventional wisdom and fearful people, themselves victimised by images of violence around them, might stress the one or two in a thousand who imitate violence and threaten society. But it is just as important to look at the large majority of people, who become more fearful, insecure, and dependent on authority, and who may grow up demanding protection and even welcoming repression in the name of security. The most significant and recurring conclusion of our long-range study is, that one correlate of television viewing is a heightened and unequal sense of danger and risk in a mean and selfish world (1)."

The first quotation indicates the "liberalisation of the liberals", that is, the liberal return to laissez-faire also in their attitude towards the depiction of violence. It also includes an embryo of the idea that violence in the media, in the arts and in society in general must be perceived as a part of the total cultural pattern. The second quotation in turn reflects a new radical mood: media incites violence which in turn may serve the stabilisation of the capitalist system. I will discuss both of these approaches somewhat more later. Here they are presented only to indicate how research and intellectual opinion turned away from the direct effects of media violence and towards broader considerations.

The quotations above reflect first of all the changes in the political context in the 1960s: a shift to liberalism. This shift then - under the multiple political stimuli of the late 1960s and early 1970s - fed student and intellectual radicalism. It has also been pointed out that the depiction of violence - as well as of sex - often became playful in the 1960s (sex and violence were "camp") or extremely formalised (eg in comic strips, pop art). The latter quotation, however, reflects the changed mood of the late 1960s and of the 1970s: the depiction of violence (and of sex) again became the focus of "serious" social concern.

Also public opinion became clearly more lenient towards media violence in the 1960s. Although there is little research and less evidence, the joint dynamics of sex and violence and media integration seem to have favoured this trend. Liberalisation was first accepted in the depiction of sex, and the depiction of violence joined it on the same band wagon (eg in James Bond books). The liberalisation that began in the "traditional"media (books, journals) spread to the "more sensitive" audiovisual media. A special intellectual defence of violence in general might have influenced even public opinion: it was repeatedly pointed out in the 1960s that violence - especially among the youth - was a response to the hypocrisy of the establishment (2).

One must, however, notice a distinct difference between the 1960s and the 1970s in their mood, in relation to both depiction of violence and its reception. During the 1970s the playfulness of the 1960s changed into commercial coarseness and intellectual tolerance into nearly compulsory "understanding the positive functions of violence". The latter attitude is brilliantly described by John Frazer in his book "Violence in the Arts":

---

(1) George Gerbner, Larry Gross, Nancy Signorielli, Michael Morgan and Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, "The Demonstrations of Power", Violence Profile No. 10, Journal of Communications, Summer 1979, Vol. 29.3, p. 196.

(2) The idea of violence as a response to hypocrisy in society has been theoretically best elaborated by Hannah Arendt, see her On Violence, New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1970, pp. 65-66.

"Violence, in this view of things, demonstrates the 'real' nature of man, his fundamental disorderliness and will to destruction, his hatred of constraints, his resentment of ideas and ideals and all other artificial constructions. Hence the artist who deals honestly with violence becomes a kind of nose-rubber or mirror holder, someone rubbing the spectator's nose in the disagreeable, and holding up a mirror in which he can contemplate the essential filthiness, nastiness, and beastliness of mankind, or at least of unregenerate bourgeois mankind. The truest artists from this point of view are ones like Céline, Zola, Burroughs, Selby, Sade and Genet, or Shakespeare in Timon of Athens or Lear, or Goya in Los Caprichos or Bacon passim. And behind them hover not only some of the Existentialist formulations about the meaninglessness and absurdity of existence but Sade's reiterated emphasis on the violence and indifference of nature, and Swift's image of man-as-Yahoo, and even, most succintly of all, Saint Bernard's characterisation of man as 'a sack of dung, the food of worms'. To express reservations about certain kinds of work, therefore, is to reveal one's own intellectual pusillanimity. One cannot, it would seem, bear to face certain philosophical truths about existence. One cannot bear the artist's 'terrifying honesty' (1)."

But this new admiration was mainly reserved for the greats. The popular products of the culture industries and the depiction of violence or sex in them was still often condemned - at least in the radical parlance - as "consciousness industries" which particpated in upholding the oppressive society.

I have above outlined some major developmental changes and their causes from the 1950s to the 1960s and further to the 1970s. I try to elaborate the end result by examining in the next two sections the basic dimensions of the discourse and the participants and their concerns.

Basic dimensions in the discourse on violence and the media

What are the basic dimensions along which the discourse on violence and the media (or more narrowly violence in the media) has evolved and is still in our 1980s evolving? Some of them were touched upon in my brief historical glimpse, but we can now bracket historical variations and look at issues more analytically. At the same time one can already point out major problems in argumentation and assess the validity of some assertions.

The first relevant dimension in the discourse on violence and the media has been, and still is, that of high culture vs. low culture. This dimension can be used to cover both audiences and products. On the audience side, it divides the audiences - as we indicated above - into two groups: the mature, educated and resistent and the immature, less educated and susceptable. On the product side the products are also divided into two groups: those depicting violence in a aesthetically or socially valuable way, and those depicting violence in order to entertain, appeal to audiences "base instincts" - and in order to make profit. The "conservative" participants in the discourse (who include an amazing number of traditional liberals and new radicals in their ranks) wish to set codes to grade

(1) Frazer, op. cit., pp. 109-110

audiences (eg by defining products suitable for family viewing time) or products (eg film rating). They also wish to curtail the production and distribution of products which contain violence and are without "redeeming aesthetic and social value" via censorship, import rules, special taxes, etc. The "liberal" participants in the discourse (who in turn may have in their ranks an amazing number of conservative media men and managers) defend the mitigation or abolition of codes, ratings and restrictions.

I will later discuss in greater detail the behaviouralist arguments and evidences for "bad" or "good" consequences of violence in the media. Here I will remain within the frame of cultural analysis and the issue of high and low cultures and first examine some more philosophical arguments in favour of fewer restrictions. We can open up with a quotation from T S Elliot:

"Those, who have lived before such terms as 'high brow fiction', 'thrillers' and 'detective fiction' were invented realize that melodrama is perennial and that the craving for it is perennial and must be satisfied. If we cannot get this satisfaction out of what the publishers present as 'literature' then we will read - with less and less pretence of concealment - what we call 'thrillers'" (1)

Elliot expressed two main assertions. First, he states that the need for melodramatic excitement, thrills and violence are inherent traits in human nature, instinctive cravings. Secondly he asserts, that there is a complementary relationship between "high brow" and "low brow" products: if we cannot find sufficient thrills from the former, we turn to the latter - and lower. If these assertations are valid, they have a definite policy implication. The restrictions are of little avail because they cannot suppress innate instinctive craving. But if we can satisfy this craving with both better or worse products, let us favour the better. Or on a more general level: we should, instead of restriction, use incentives in order to produce appealing high brow products and improve the "reflective" qualities of "low brow" products.

Unfortunately there is little solid evidence - at least in research - for Elliot's assertions. "Instinctiveness" cannot be proved or disproved empirically and the idea of compensatory relations between high brow and low brow products is scarcely true. The "high brow" consumers interest eg in the 1960s and 1970s in the low brow products (eg James Bond books and films) was probably due to a defined style or fashion, not to the lack of violent or erotic edge in the high brow products. We also know by experience, that the policy implications we derived from Elliot's assertations are not probably valid: you cannot usually improve quality or enhance appeal by subsidies.

The ideas of improved quality or enhanced appeal lead us, however, to the ultimate issue in the discourse: what is the kind of quality that justifies violence, when can we use violence to increase appeal? Aside from aesthetic arguments - which I will treat later in a technical manner - we find at least three arguments used to defend depiction of violence in the media and the arts. Firstly, it has been argued that violence which reveals real human nature to us (see the quotation from Frazer supra) is justified. Secondly, it has been argued that violence which reveals social

---

(1) T S Elliot, "Wilkie Collins and Dickens" in Selected Essays, London: Faber & Faber, 1934, p 422, as quoted in Frazer, op. cit., p. 6.

corruption and the corruptability of people is justified. And thirdly, it has been argued that violence which throws light upon the true functioning of our social institutions is justified.

All these three lines of argument require good social intentions from the creators - or at least try to provide some of them with such intentions. To do this is more a matter of moral judgement and less that of factual assessment. And, of course, it is impossible to prove that good intentions produce good effects. We must in the final analysis always admit that censorship regulations, quality ratings, subsidy forms and negative sanctions against base appeals and bad quality are based upon moral judgements; and their application to a large extent is based on the private likes and dislikes harboured by the decision makers. And we must also admit that conscious attempts to incorporate redeeming social values into products of the mass media and the arts often leads to glaring hypocrisy, decreased quality - and usually to lessened audience appeal as well.

All in all, we find little clarity and factual basis in all arguments presented along the dimension of high vs. low culture. On the other hand, we cannot deny the fact that it is, in one form or another, continually used as a basis of evaluation in general and of evaluation of media violence in particular. But, as the adage goes, evaluations along this line are - like the assessment of "remedial social value" - dependent upon "prevalent moral standards". Which, in turn, offers us little in the way of an objective footing.

The dimension high vs. low culture is used to evaluate the content of the mass media and the arts. On the side of media classification we find a closely related dimension.

Our above quotations from the American film and radio/television codes suggest that media could be divided into two groups: general audience media and media for private sub-audiences. The first group consists of media which have fast, direct and unselective access to wide heterogeneous audiences: newspapers, general audience journals, film, radio/television. The second group consists of media which have divisible products and which can diversify their output to respond to the needs of special audiences: book production, phonograms, special audience journals, etc. Our quotations from the codes also let us know that the former group, general audience media, is especially problematic because of its indivisible products and must be submitted to special proctoring.

The division of media into general audience media and limited private audience media seems to have some valid basis. If some of the media can be considered to perform a public service and provide information and entertainment for all, one can argue that these media should not harm any part of the audience or offend the moral conviction of any of its sub-groups. The problem, however, is that it is difficult to decide in practice what are general audience media. The recent technological development and integration of the media has made this distinction still more difficult to make. Video is seemingly a special audience media. But if video programmes are mass produced and freely distributed, one can say that it has become a general audience media. The same can be argued when closed circuit television broadens its

audience, etc. Furthermore, the division into general audience media and special audience media does not solve the control problem. That is evident when one considers the areas in which actual control and censorship flourish. Acts of control and censorship are most often directed against limited audience media - or actually against the public distribution of their products. Although the idea of allowing freedom to limited audience media is based on liberal convictions and adages of freedom in the "privacy of one's own home" and "between consenting adults", these bases do not seem to be sufficiently firm in a modern society with a division of labour and commercialism. We must again conclude, that the line between general audience media and special audience media is a fuzzy one and fluctuates according to the moral and practical judgement of those who draw it. But the fact is that it is used for policy purposes and thus it must be taken seriously - also as a target of criticism.

The theoretical discussions about media violence in the 1940s, 1950s and even in the 1960s were couched in terms of the dichotomy: media violence as instigator - media violence as tension reducer. The roots of this dichotomy are in the two contending schools of social psychological research. The first of these schools based its research on violence in the media on social learning theories and argued that violence in the mass media provides a behavioural model for children and instigates aggressive behaviour (1). The second school based its research on personality psychology and need theory, and argued that violence in the media reduces aggression in the spectator/user because of its cathartic, tension-reducing effects (2). Review articles about the results of these two schools usually conclude that there is little empirical evidence for either line of argumentation. The instigation hypothesis seems to have gathered somewhat more supporting empirical evidence - probably because more research has been done to prove it. However, both schools of thought have been criticised - and justly so - for basing their empirical evidence on the analyses of disparate stimuli (mainly selected television programmes with violence) and immediate effects (aggression in subsequent behaviour, eg in childrens play). The results can be scarcely generalised to cover repeated media influence and its effects on actual behaviour in real social contexts. Although the evidence supporting the instigation hypothesis is meagre - and probably invalid from the perspective of real life events - the mass media have accepted it from the very beginning and perpetuate it. Newspapers and journals dutifully report cases in which violent criminals state that they have been inspired by violent films or television programmes. Qualifications concerning for example the motives and mental health of the criminals in these cases of self-reported effects of mass media violence are seldom examined. Thus the media "application" of the instigation theory has really had practical consequences - by instigating public opinion against the media. One must also remember while examining the instigation/tension-reduction controversy that there are strong economic and political interests which stand to benefit or lose whenever one side in the debate is winning and getting more publicity.

---

(1) The reviewers of research often speak about the Berkowitz/Bandura school according to the two main proponents. For their treatment of violence in the media - issues within their learning theoretical frame, see Leonard Berkowitz, Aggression: A Social Psychological Analysis, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962; Albert Bandura, Aggression A Social Learning Analysis, Englewood N J: Prentice Hall 1973.

(2) See eg Seymour Fleshback, "The Drive-Reducing Functions of Fantasy Behaviour", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1955, 50, pp. 3- and Seymour Fleshback and R D Singer, Television and Aggression: An Experimental Field Study, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1971.

The liberalisation and radicalisation of the intellectual and political climate in the 1960s also affected academic research. As I indicated above, the instigation, tension-reduction dimension was pushed aside by the dimension immediate individual effects - broader social and cultural effects. The criticism and rather universal rejection of the above two social psychological approaches first made room for more radical (often Marxist-oriented) research. In the analyses of violence in the media, the main argument of the radical school is that violence in the media serves to maintain stability and social order in capitalist societies. The most discussed and disputed research results have come from the Annenburg School of Communications and are based on the School's TV Violence Index (1). The interpretation of this index by two communication researchers, George Gerbner and Larry Gross, has aroused most controversies with their "message system analysis" and "cultivation analysis". They argue that television is the central arm of American society and the established order: among other things it sheds, by its depiction of violence, fears which stabilise and maintain the system. Or in the words of the researchers themselves:

"The analysis reveals that adolescent heavy viewers see the world as more violent and express more fear than do light viewers in a variety of ways, ranging from estimates of the number of people involved in violence, to perception of danger, to assumptions about police violence" (2).

The audience's perceptions and fears transmit "the whole system of a message, and the transmission works well... too well in cultivating uniform assumptions, exploitable fears, acquiescence to power and resistance to meaningful change" (3).

It has been pointed out, that Gerbner and Gross' arguments are more persuasive than their data, and that their theories have made them collect such data as to suit the theories (4). The critics have also pointed out that the "television world" and its depiction of violence is much more than simply a "central hand of American society". Humanistic cultural research has emphasised the ritualistic and mythical elements in the presentation of violence on television - and in the media and the arts in general (5). Greatly simplifying, one could say that humanistic

---

(1) The research results based on the index are steadily published eg in Journal of Communication as "TV Violence Profile". See eg George Gerbner Larry Michael F Eleey, Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, Susan Jefrries-Fox and Nancy Signorielli, TV Violence Profile No. 8. "The Highlights", Journal of Communication, Spring 1977, Vol. 27,2, pp. 171-180.

(2) George Gerbner et al., Journal of Communication 1979, Vol. 29,3, op. cit., p. 192.

(3) Quoted in James D Halloran, Mass Communication. Symptom or Cause of Violence in Mass Communication Review Yearbook, Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 446.

(4) See eg Luc Van Poecke, "Gerbner's Cultural Indicators. The System is the Message", Ibid. p. 423-449.

(5) Horace Newcomb, "Assessing the Violence Profile Studies of Gerbner and Gross. A Humanistic Critique and Suggestion", Ibid., pp. 451-469.

cultural analyses - in their structuralist or hermeneutic forms - emphasise the importance of violence themes in the media and in the arts in maintaining more general structural patterns of thinking and interpretations and in transmitting them from individual to individual, from group to group and from generation to generation. At the same time they still provide material for individual imagination and creativity.

We can now see, that research has slowly moved on from a narrow technical debate on instigation vs. tension reduction to consider more social, political and wider cultural implications of the depiction of violence in the media and the arts. At the same time interest in understanding violence in its cultural context and culture via violence has replaced the narrow interest in controlling the effects of media violence.

We can find on the technical media side a dimension that corresponds to the above dimension of immediate individual effects vs. broader social and cultural effects. There is a tendency to group media into two groups: "immediate response-inducing" media and "reflective media" (1). The former would include media which are able to produce - eg by depicting events of violence - immediate short-term psychic and behavioural responses in the audience. The latter would include media whose effects are produced by stimuli which obtain their meaning from their wider symbolic context and must be interpreted and re-created by the audience "reflectively" in this context.

We indicated above that the "instigation school" of media effects used television or film to prove that media violence produces aggressive effects. These research results - when interpreted from this new perspective - seem to suggest that the media which produce direct visual or audio images can easily arouse immediate emotional and behavioural responses. On the other hand, there is also some evidence that written media (books, journals, newspapers) leave more freedom for users' creative and reflective activity, because the messages must be decoded, encoded and related to the users' stock of images and knowledge. If we accept this dichotomy, we can argue that the immediate response media are "more dangerous" in their depiction of violence, because they may release immediate aggressions or maintain - at least in the most susceptable groups of the audience - high emotional tensions (cf the above quotations from Gerbner and Gross). But we may as well argue that violence in reflective media may be much more effective in enforcing aggressive personality patterns and inducing premeditated violence.

There is, however, no solid empirical evidence for the above speculations about the different nature of media. Furthermore, they are obviously over-simplifications. First of all, they overlook the importance of repetition even in "immediate response media". The famous film and television director Rainer Werner Fassbinder pointed out a prominent feature of television in one of his interviews:

"An important element of the TV aesthetic, in fact, is the way that the same programmes come back time and again: the news, the series and so on. This principle should be applied to the feature and entertainment programmes you make for TV" (2).

---

(1) See eg Fuchs and Lyle, op. cit., p. 238. See especially Werner Rainer Fassbinder's comments on this dimension, Christian Braad Thomsen, "Five Interviews with Fassbinder" in Tony Rayns, Fassbinder, London: British Film Institute, p. 88.

(2) Ibid. p. 86.

This of course suggests that television violence may, produce immediate effects eg in children's games, but it can basically also re-enforce certain cultural patterns as effectively as written words. It may, however, give less freedom for active reflection by the audience. Fassbinder also reminded us that television creates a peculiar interaction situation. The producer/director can "talk directly to the family sitting in front of the screen", that is, get a very close but (still at present) one-way interaction contact (1).

In another interview Fassbinder also indicates that the so-called immediate response media can be used more or less reflectively and that reflective use or emotions arousal are skills which the director/producer must acquire. He says that by comparing the European and American film:

"American cinema is the only one I take seriously, because it's the only one that had really reached the audience. German cinema used to do so before 1933, and, of course, there are individual directors in other countries who are in touch with their audiences. But American cinema has generally had the happiest relationship with its audience, and it is because it doesn't try to be 'art'. Its narrative style is not so complicated or artificial. Well, of course it's artificial, but not 'artistic'" (2).

We can conclude discussion of this dimension by saying that the media obviously differ - in general and in their ability to get responses to depicted violence. But the differences are too subtle to be summarised in simple dichotomies.

We can next proceed to another content category in the discourse on media violence, viz. that of realism vs. the imaginary (3). We can go in medias res by repeating the common argument that realistic violence (eg in news, documentary films and TV programmes) is "educative" ie leads to aversion, while fictional violence (eg adventure films, TV series) is entertaining and provides fodder for daydreams or benumbs the audience into accepting violence. Again we have a simple dichotomy, which does not stand closer scrutiny. First of all, repeated realistic depiction of violence can also benumb the senses, as American experiences with Vietnam war news have proved. Secondly, one must remember that many seemingly realistic depictions of violence are still artificial, because they are shown in an artificial context. It has been pointed out how, for example, television news creates an artifical world of "information", where separate events - including incidences of violence - are served up as an accurate depiction of the world (4). Similarly, "stark realism" presses upon the audience gory details which go unnoticed in real-life situations of violence. It has been suggested that a "real realism" in depicting violence can be achieved only by relating separate incidences of violence to the actual every-day life of the audiences. I will later elaborate this conception of "real realism".

---

(1) Ibid. p. 100.

(2) Ibid. p. 83.

(3) See eg Seymour Fleshback, "Reality and Fantasy in Filmed Violence", in John Murray, Eli Rubinstein, and George Comstock (eds.) Television and Social Behaviour, Vol. 2, Television and Social Learning, Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 1970.

(4) See Peter Dahlgren, "TV News as a Social Relation", Media Culture & Society, 1981. Vol. 3,3, pp. 291-302.

roles and motives of violent criminals and/or their victims are elaborated to the extent the actual events and acts of violence either recede into the background or become "natural" and acceptable. This happens for example when the violent criminal is given heroic or mythical dimensions or the victim is shown to have masochistic motives. Over-reflecting takes place when the artist (writer, director, producer) reflects violence in general or his own attitude towards violence to such an extent that he presents violence to the audience with detachment, cynicism or acquiescence. These attitudes can be transmitted to the audience either via the content of the work (eg a cynical outcome of the intrigue) or in the general atmosphere in which the work is presented (eg "here is a play about violence, but don't imagine its subject matter amounts too much") (1).

All these modes of overworked symbolism distance audiences from real events and acts of violence and can be accused of benumbing emotions - those of the audience as well as those of the creators themselves. They are also most difficult to control, even if one could actually prove them to be harmful. Placing restrictions on them would mean condemning the "decadent arts" and one would step into the hazardous area of limiting artistic expression and freedom of speech. (And, in general, it is easier to censor the simple than the sophisticated.)

But there are also ways to reverse the above benumbing processes, to "de-distance". The first and simplest one is to relate the acts of violence depicted in the media or in a work of art to experiences in the audience's everyday life. Frazer tells about a Vietnam documentary film, in which a mutilated and bandaged boy tells how he was machine-gunned while shepherding the family buffalo in the fields. The case was one of thousands told in Vietnam news and documentaries. However, it acquired a new poignancy when the narrator told that the buffalo had been killed. This report of the loss of an animal valuable to the boy's family brought the event closer to the everyday experiences of the audience and bred new empathy towards the victim. The second way to overcome distancing is for the artist (writer, director, producer) to maintain in himself a distanced attitude to all unnecessary philosphising and reflecting and to focus on the logic of the situation, that is, the logic of drama, choice and conflict, which leads to a violent solution. As Frazer has expressed it, this attitude is a sort of ironical contemplation of a human labyrinth. The artist refrains from becoming too intensely committed to any single point of view or any long-term course of action and refuses to indicate where truth and justice really lie (2). According to this stance, violence in the media and in the arts can be like Artaud's theatre of the cruel. Its impact (3):

"...like that of plague, is beneficial, for, impelling men to see themselves as they are, it causes the mask to fall, reveals the lie, the slackness, baseness and hypocrisy of our world, and in revealing to collectivities of men their dark power, their hidden force, it invites them to take, in the face of destiny, a superior and heroic attitude they would never have assumed without it".

---

(1) For creating the atmosphere, see Fassbinder's interview, Thomsen, op. cit., p. 88.

(2) Frazer op. cit., p. 152.

(3) Antonin Artaud, The Theatre and Its Double, New York: Grove Press, 1958, pp. 31-32, as quoted in Frazer, pp. 48 and 159.

The problem of realism vs. the imaginary relates naturally to the above discussion of the immediate response media vs. reflective media. One can, on the media side, look at the problem of realism and the imaginary more technically along the dimension of image-inducing media vs. symbolically distanciating media. The basic idea in this dichotomy is that media can either "replicate" the audience's immediate life experiences by its images, or it can enlargen the audience's symbolic system to treat media and real life experiences in some more efficient or more meaningful way. It is assumed that the symbolic system of the audience - whether the old one or the "media-expanded" new one - distances the audience from the immediately lived experiences and thus acts as a controlling "superego". Along the lines of some psychoanalytical studies one can furthermore argue that if strong, emotionally problematic images in a child's life precede the stage where the child has acquired sufficient symbolic tools to handle these images, personality disturbances will ensue (1). If we equate the image-inducing media with the audiovisual and the symbolically distancing media with the written and spoken, we seem to arrive at our old formula: the audiovisual media and its strong images (violence, pornography, etc) can be dangerous for the immature and the susceptible. This is, however, too simple a reading of the above argumentation. The impact of strong images depends on the overall symbolic development of the child (his identity formation, his parental relations, etc) and one cannot generalise and speak about the immature and the susceptible in general terms. Even without the media, the world is not lacking disturbing images if a child is, because of its developmental problems, susceptible to them. And the subconscious, the imagination, can make them more terrifying that can the media, if there are (unconscious) reasons for it. Structuralist-oriented psychoanalysis is no doubt a promising approach to analysing the media and media's effects - but while using it one must stay on the individual level and not present generalisations concerning overall categories of "the immature" or "the susceptible".

One can easily notice that my last three dimensions of the discourse are closely related. One can still suggest a fourth dimension, which probes the same problems of immediate effects, images, the imaginary and the real. It is simple reality vs. overworked symbolism (2). I pointed out earlier that persistent striving for realism may produce benumbing effects: repeated depiction of violence can make the audience indifferent to depiction - and perhaps even to violence in reality. The presentation of violence can, however, be overworked in other more sophisticated ways than by repetitions. It can happen via over-education, over-stylisation, over-philosophising and over-reflecting. I have already referred above to over-education: to presenting violence in order to teach the audiences its viciousness. This leads more often than not to hypocrisy, naivity and loss of audience. Over-stylisation means presenting violence in abstract forms and images, which distance the audience from the content and its relation to reality. This distancing is often presented as an argument against the depiction of violence in comic strips, but the same over-stylisation can also be found in other media (cartoons, television series, situation comedies, pop art, etc). Over-philosophising means that the positions,

---

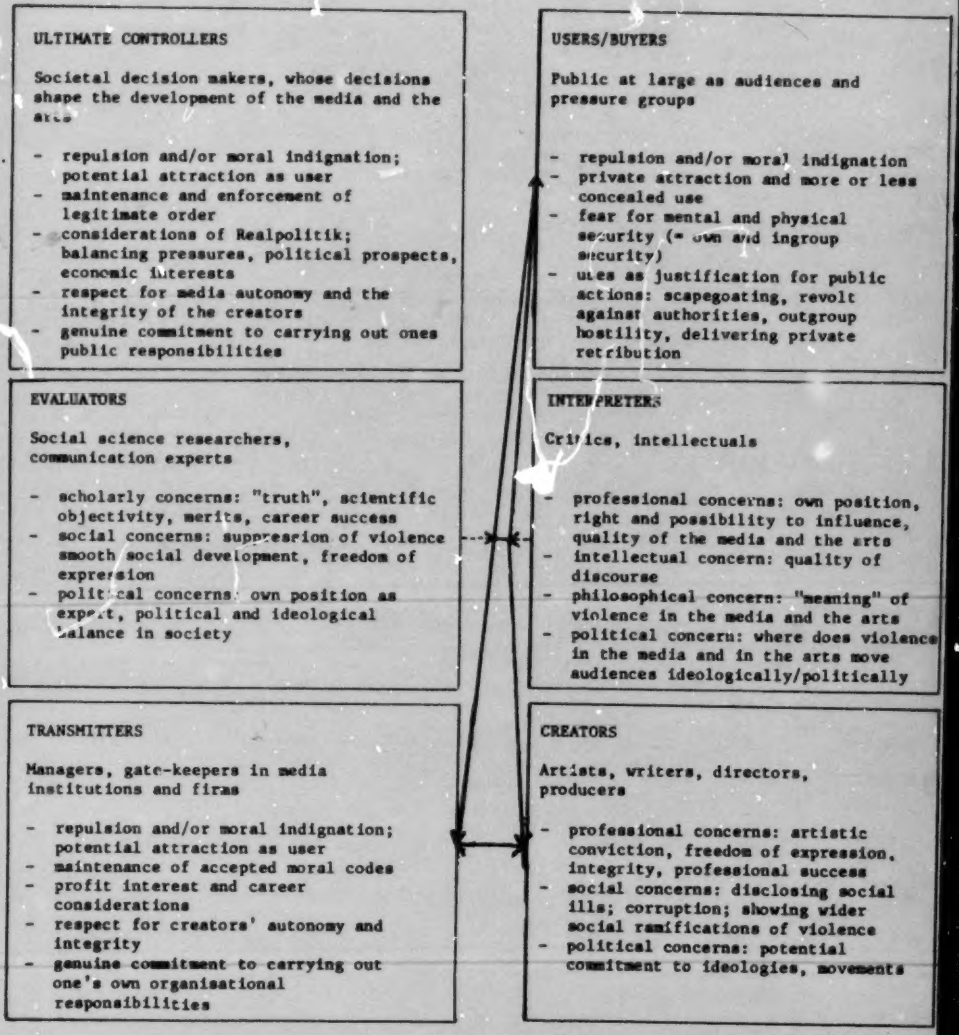
(1) I am grateful to Dan Steinbock for indicating to me the importance of the psychoanalytical approach and for introducing me to the relevant literature. Dan Steinbock, Televisio ja psyyke (Television and Psyche), manuscript, Helsinki 1982.

(2) This dimension is discussed throughout Frazer's book, Frazer, op. cit.

Figure 1: GROUPS PARTICIPATING IN THE DISCOURSE ON VIOLENCE AND THE MEDIA: POSITIONS AND MAJOR CONCERNS

LEGEND: ———— primary relations between creators, transmitters and users

---------- secondary discourse relations of interpretors and evaluators to primary relations


ULTIMATE CONTROLLERS
Societal decision makers, whose decisions shape the development of the media and the arts
- repulsion and/or moral indignation; potential attraction as user
- maintenance and enforcement of legitimate order
- considerations of Realpolitik; balancing pressures, political prospects, economic interests
- respect for media autonomy and the integrity of the creators
- genuine commitment to carrying out ones public responsibilities
USERS/BUYERS
Public at large as audiences and pressure groups
- repulsion and/or moral indignation
- private attraction and more or less concealed use
- fear for mental and physical security (= own and ingroup security)
- uses as justification for public actions: scapegoating, revolt against authorities, outgroup hostility, delivering private retribution
EVALUATORS
Social science researchers, communication experts
- scholarly concerns: "truth", scientific objectivity, merits, career success
- social concerns: suppression of violence smooth social development, freedom of expression
- political concerns: own position as expert, political and ideological balance in society
INTERPRETERS
Critics, intellectuals
- professional concerns: own position, right and possibility to influence, quality of the media and the arts
- intellectual concern: quality of discourse
- philosophical concern: "meaning" of violence in the media and the arts
- political concern: where does violence in the media and in the arts move audiences ideologically/politically
TRANSMITTERS
Managers, gate-keepers in media institutions and firms
- repulsion and/or moral indignation; potential attraction as user
- maintenance of accepted moral codes
- profit interest and career considerations
- respect for creators' autonomy and integrity
- genuine commitment to carrying out one's own organisational responsibilities
CREATORS
Artists, writers, directors, producers
- professional concerns: artistic conviction, freedom of expression, integrity, professional success
- social concerns: disclosing social ills; corruption; showing wider social ramifications of violence
- political concerns: potential commitment to ideologies, movements

Frazer's and Artaud's argument would give an elegant ending to my survey on the dimensions in the discourse on violence and the media. But, following their advice, I may end on a sceptical note. Depiction of violence in a manner which relates it to the everyday life of people and calls forth empathy is probably less dangerous and - to Mr Average - better spiritual fodder than that depiction of violence which causes exaltation and a craving for detached heroism.

Participants in the discourse on violence and the media: positions, concerns, tensions and conflicts

The above survey of the dimensions in the discourse on violence and the media may already sufficiently map the major themes and problems. To make that map more concrete we can sketch the contours of the groups which participate in the discourse. We can, at the same time, indicate their relative positions, concerns and tensions and conflicts within and between these concerns.

Figure 1 depicts the groups and enumerates their main concerns and orientations in matters concerning violence in media. The figure speaks mainly for itself, but a few reading instructions are worth while giving.

In the figure the main axis is probably the one between the creators and the users/buyers, and the other groups are involved mainly as controllers, transmitters, evaluators and interpreters - at least in the violence issue. One can also notice that my analysis of the discourse in the previous sections has been mainly concerned with the discourse maintained by the evaluators (scientists, experts) and the interpreters (critics, intellectuals). This is natural, because these are the groups, whose function it is to produce and maintain the discourse. The other groups are actually points of reference, which provide the topics and shape the discourse by their influence.

To what extent a discourse such as the one I have surveyed here really influences the everyday activities of the participants - that is, those groups which depict, transmit, buy and control violence in the media - is another problem. There may be another discourse, a secret one with private communications, informal relations, threats and anticipations of sanctioning. This secret discourse - to which I have referred every now and then - may be a much greater determinant of how violence is depicted in the media than the "public" discourse I have surveyed in this paper.

Figure 1 may reveal some of the major concerns and orientations which shape the discourse - be it public or secret - on violence in the media. And it helps to identify the tensions within and between these concerns. These tensions and conflicts can be easily read from the figure. Among artists, there are individual and intragroup tensions between the maintenance of artistic integrity and professional success. Among scientists and experts there are for example individual and intragroup tensions between a wish to maintain scholarly impartiality and a commitment to the social cause of supressing violence. Among the managers there are individual and group tensions between profit motives and perceived social responsibilities. And among societal decision makers there are individual and group tensions between one's own moral indignation and the necessity to carry out Realpolitik even in censorship questions.

Similarly one can enumerate examples of intergroup tensions and conflicts. There can be tensions between artists' professional aspirations and critics' interpretations of the "true meaning" of violence which the artists should bring forth. There can be tensions between social scientists' concern with showing harmful effects of violence in the media and managers' and gatekeepers' interest in making profit by depicting violence. And there can be tensions between decision makers' respect for artists' autonomy and the audience's moral indignation. All these tensions can, and often do, flare up as conflicts. And one can easily notice that there are tens of dimensions and hundreds of items and issues which may cause ambiguities, tensions and conflicts between these participants in the discourse - who are also parties interested in gains and losses via media violence.

The map of Figure 1 is also the map of responsibilities. One can say that the groups enumerated are also groups who are responsible for the depiction of violence in the media and for the effects of violence in the media. I do not even start to open up the formidable problem of assessing the types and amounts of responsibilities the different groups should take. I only note that the task would be easier if we knew what they are responsible for, ie what are the effects of violence in the media. We have many interpretations, and each gives probably a different distribution of responsibilities.

Deficiencies and new directions in the discourse on violence and the media

I have tried to present my analysis of the discourse on violence and the media in such a manner as would reveal its major logical problems and its factual and intellectual deficiencies. They can be now summarised.

Firstly, those groups and individuals who have participated in the discourse, who have contributed to it and shaped and directed it have seldom analysed their own political, economic and cultural environment and its impact on their own ideas and discourse. They have seldom perceived the relativity of these ideas and of the whole discourse and they have therefore taken dogmatic and vindictive stances. This has often prevented the free flow of ideas and education via discussion and debate. The participants have too often forgotton Frazer's admonition to "... maintain an ironical and contemplative attitude towards the human labyrinth", where also violence, the media, violence in the media and the discourse on violence in the media are but passages and dead-ends.

Secondly, the participants of the discourse seem to have been often sliding unnoticeably from a factual level of analysis to a moral, political and ideological debate and vice versa. Factual observations and research results have been used rather unscrupulously to defend theoretical arguments and hypothese, which are preferred for political, ideological or moral reasons. These same reasons have also limited empirical research perspectives, analysis and data interpretation. There is, no doubt, some first-rate empirical research, but it has been used too often to address the wrong issues or test models it cannot logically test.

Thirdly, there has been, especially among social scientists and communication experts, a predilection for a narrow and technical definition of the problems and issues. I have tried in my own survey, to indicate the complexity and mutual interdependencies of these narrowly defined issues.

In order to know in what direction to proceed, we can still once more return to examine the scientific basis of the discourse on violence and the media. Historically, we can notice a clear trend, a pattern of shifts. We can first notice a "pre-scientific" conception that violence in the media and the arts reflects an instinctive craving for thrills and the violent. the behaviouralist research narrowed the problem and asked, whether violence in the media instigated aggression or reduced tensions and subsequent aggression. The radical analyses broadened the perspective and argued that violence in the media served to stabilise the system by generating fears and a craving for law and order. All these analyses have been critically reviewed by the humanistically oriented culturalist researchers, who, in turn, have emphasised the need to analyse violence in the media and in the arts from the perspectives of wider symbolic structures and patterns of tradition.

This development can, of course, be seen as "progress" and we can congratulate the research sector for the pluralism which has diversified the discourse. I will, for my own part, take a less lenient stand and argue that research has not really fulfilled its social function. It has not been able to give perspective to the depiction of violence: the ways, the hows, the consequences. There is at least one obvious reason for this failure. There has been an unnecessary bifurcation of the discourse on the one hand into expressions of opinion by social scientists and communication experts (violence in the media as a social phenomenon) and into humanistic and intellectual debate on violence in the arts (depiction of violence as a cultural phenomenon) on the other. These two realms of the discourse should be more closely connected - and that is, to a certain extent, what I have been attempting to achieve in my presentation.

What kind of factual and intellectual basis do we need for the future discourse on violence in the media? I would offer the following recipes:

First, as I already indicated above, we need a closer connection between social science research on media violence and its effects and humanistic analyses of the cultural meaning of depiction of violence in the media and in the arts.

Secondly, we need more analyses of the development of our discourse on violence in general and on violence in the media and in the arts in particular. My present paper is only a sketch of what could be done. Better results can be achieved by systematic applications of modern discourse analyses to this area. Also systematic histories of ideas - like John Frazer's book "Violence in the Arts", which I have used extensively in this paper - are invaluable.

Thirdly, we need new, more specialised approaches. I will mention only three. We need more research within the ethnomethodological frame, which would relate the depiction of violence to the conceptual frames and perspectives of the everyday life of the "common people". We need more research from the psychoanalytical perspective, which would relate the depiction of violence to personality development - especially to the problems of identifying formation and the interplay between the real, imaginary and the symbolic. And we need more research from the structuralist perspective, which would clarify the symbolic systems in the depiction of violence

This list does not mean that I reject the more traditional research which I have reviewed above. It must be continued - but broader perspectives must also be opened.

I have above recommended a certain direction for developing the discourse on violence and the media as regards its information basis in research. Can we make any other recommendations on the basis of my survey?

For further recommendations, we must turn back to Figure 1 above. The participant group in the figure must be the focus of all recommendations for improving our understanding and action concerning violence in the media. Problems and solutions stem from these groups.

A commonplace recommendation is to call for improved communication between the groups in matters concerning violence in the media (1). There are, of course, many types of communication relations between the groups; hence many ways of improving communication. It is less of a commonplace to recommend joint education, where the representatives of these groups would educate each other in their opinions, perspectives and problems concerning violence in the media. And to be still less commonplace, this education should have clear humanistic cultural bias and underpinning (2).

---

(1) See eg Elihu Katz, "Looking for Trouble", Journal of Communication, Spring 1978, Vol. 28, 2, pp. 90-95. The role of researchers and their relation to decision makers is thoroughly discussed in this issue of the journal, while the Katz Report to the BBC is criticised.

(2) The Finnish National Commission for UNESCO has, in co-operation with UNESCO and with its financial assistance, experimented in "the cultural training of non-cultural decision makers". The Finnish National Commission for UNESCO arranged two courses for top civil servants and municipal decision makers on "The Arts, Culture and Finnish Reality". The results of the experiments will be reported later this year. Similar "education" could be probably arranged in the narrower field of mass media violence along the lines suggested in my last paragraph.

## 4.4. THE BBC's POLICY ON THE COVERAGE OF VIOLENCE

Richard Francis

### INTRODUCTION

Recent events have added considerably to the BBC's experience of the treatment of violence in factual output. The terrorist campaign and IRA hunger strikes in Northern Ireland, the riots in English inner cities in 1981 and the battle for the Falkland Islands have tested and reinforced the corporation's basic editorial precepts. They have also provided new lessons in the problems of providing balanced coverage of political, civil and military conflict characterised as these events were, by competing propaganda, social tension and uneven access to information. These difficulties have been accompanied in each case as a lightning conductor for this anxiety. The need for the BBC to explain its motives to the audiences and the importance of doing so has been underlined by this experience.

What follows is a summary of established BBC policy on the portrayal of violence in factual programming supplemented in the light of recent experience. It cannot be a comprehensive guide to every occasion. No specific guidelines can (nor should) replace the broadcasting organisation's reliance on the judgment, integrity and taste of its journalists in weighing each new situation in the light of past experience. The Report on The Portrayal of Violence on Television, published jointly by the BBC and IBA, made a number of practical suggestions designed to focus attention on the importance of 'the watershed' ( 9 pm before which time all programmes must be suitable for an audience including children watching on their own), to emphasise the need for warning announcements, trailers and accurate descriptive material in promotional material and, more generally, to encourage a greater awareness of the problem among members of staff.

While the greatest number of complaints to the BBC are about violence in fictional programmes, news and current affairs staff must have their own journalistic standards and cannot expect the same degree of latitude that the public allows for fiction. The ability of the television journalist to control the timing, duration and context of explicit pictures of violence gives greater flexibility than is available to the newspaper journalist, and also creates a special responsibility.

### GENERAL POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

On the inclusion of violent scenes in news bulletins - the choice of which pictures should be allowed on the screen is governed by the editorial judgment of their newsworthiness and importance, together with a concern for the reasonable susceptibilities of the viewers to the details of what is shown. In deciding how much to show of any film report, the editor walks a tightrope between his awareness of the susceptibilities of the audience and his understanding that sanitising the report too completely may result in distortion.

#### Purpose and degree

The first question which must always be asked is what purpose would be served by explicit inclusion of violent material in a news bulletin, a current affairs programme or a documentary, and what degree of detail is absolutely necessary to achieve that purpose.

Audience susceptibilities

Secondly, is that purpose sufficiently important to outweigh the objections which the use of the material might provoke?

Availability

A story should not be chosen for inclusion in a news bulletin just because violent action film coverage is available. Scenes of violence should not be included in current affairs programmes and documentary programmes gratuitously or just because they have been shown in news bulletins. Their inclusion is justified when the theme is sufficiently important, when it essentially requires the showing of violent pictures and when the audience has been alerted both to the nature of the programme and to the inclusion of some particularly violent or disturbing scenes.

News

The violence of an event should never be sensationalised and should always be put into the perspective of the rest of the world news of the day.

Current Affairs

The relationship between producers of current affairs programmes and viewers is different from that between editors of news and the audience. The decision of a current affairs producer is less inevitable, there is always a greater element of choice.

Concern for children

Editors of news bulletins and of current affairs and documentary programmes should consider the presence of large numbers of children in the audience before the 9 o'clock "watershed". They should also be aware of the substantial numbers of children who may be watching after the "watershed", especially on Friday and Saturday evenings. The presence of children in the audience should cause editors to be careful about violence in general and in particular about stories concerning exorcism and the occult, or concerning mentally deranged people.

BBC GUIDELINES

A. COVERAGE OF VIOLENCE

1. Reports about "crowds gathering" should be avoided and a disturbance should not be called a "riot" unless the term is clearly justified by the size and severity of the situation. Stick to calm factual reporting; avoid anticipation, exaggeration and inflammatory clichés such as "an angry mob", "explosive violence", "tensions mounted", "full-scale rioting", "choking smoke". The task is to quench rumour by swift, accurate reporting.

2. Accounts by participants and self-appointed "leaders" who in fact speak only for themselves, should be treated with caution. Eye witness reports should be avoided unless their accurancy can be verified. The greatest care should be taken not to confuse rumour with fact.

3. In reports of violence on the streets, care is needed to ensure that racial tensions and local feuds are not exacerbated. Information about how to make home-made weapons should not be broadcast, nor should pictures of them being assembled

4. Those on the scene should remain as inconspicuous as possible, travelling in unmarked cars and avoiding conspicuous use of cameras so as not to incite violence among partisan groups and exhibitionist hooligans. It is best to observe (and film) from a distance or from high vantage points before getting amongst the action. Staff should withdraw if their presence appears to be causing, prolonging or intensifying a dangerous situation. Filming should cease once the subjects start behaving abnormally because of the presence of cameras.

5. It is necessary to try to put the scale of violence into perspective but this should be done without pretending to a degree of certainty about numbers which cannot be substantiated. Sources for estimates of crowd size, numbers responsible for violence and the value of property damaged should be stated. Public anxiety can be minimised and police resources concentrated by precise reports of the areas affected by street violence, but these should not be broadcast until the activity is established and contained. The reporter must avoid recruiting rioters to the scene.

6. Ordinary day-to-day life is seldom entirely displaced even when violence is sustained over a period of weeks or months. The way in which the civilian population adjusts, and the extent to which a degree of normality is maintained alongside the violence is an important element in the reality and one which should be reflected in the reporting of the situation.

7. Violence cannot be properly reported without an exploration of its causes. The background to the situation, the issues and the circumstances which led to the disturbance should be examined as soon as possible. If, after effort to find out the cause, it remains unclear this should be reported.

8. Examination of the causes of violence may require assessment of ideological and cultural discord and the extent to which it is organised. Great skill is required to tread the thin line between explanation of the role of these elements in the conflict and providing a platform for propaganda. Political rhetoric may be illustrated in a programme, but it should not be allowed to pass unchallenged. The BBC does not show live television pictures of street violence, although its reporters may report live from such scenes, providing the pictures shown are non-specific.

9. Live broadcasting of any hostage-taking or terrorist incident must be referred to the highest level within the BBC.

10. Dead bodies should not be shown in close-up, and film should not dwell on close-up pictures of the grief-stricken in the wake of natural disasters and man-made violence. Interviews with the bereaved must not be gratuitous and they must be arranged, conducted

and considered for transmission with the greatest sensitivity. The reporter must be fully aware that the interviewees may well be in shock and may need to be protected from doing things in the glare of unfamiliar publicity which they may subsequently regret.

11. Details of suicides and the names of rape victims should normally be withheld.

12. News coverage should scrupulously avoid the musical and other conventions of fictional violence, horror or crime. It is no part of the BBC's role to dramatise real-life violence.

B. TERRORISM

Reporting Terrorism

Terrorist activity, statements and claims should be reported in news bulletins and current affairs programmes strictly according to their news values. When quoting the language and terminology used by terrorists, the greatest care must be taken to attribute it as such.

Contacts with Terrorists

The BBC is opposed to terrorism. Its practical approach to any dealings with terrorists is dictated by the particular terrorist group and the context of their activity. Most terrorist activity enjoys virtually no popular support and is totally reprehensible. But it is also true that sometimes yesterday's terrorists have become today's prime ministers, and that one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter.

In the United Kingdom context no approach for a recorded interview with a terrorist may be made without reference, through senior line management and Assistant Director-General, to Director-General. Reference is also required for the coverage of any terrorist activity, other than on a multilateral news basis.

In the coverage of foreign stories no approach may be made to terrorists without the permission of the news editor or head of department. News editors and heads of departments must refer specially difficult cases to the Assistant Director General.

A BBC journalist abroad, genuinely unable to refer a proposed interview, must take a responsible decision in line with his or her own best judgment and BBC policy, and report to the appropriate news editor or head of department as soon as possible.

C. TREATMENT OF BOMB WARNINGS

Journalistic Coverage

Journalists handling bomb warnings should be aware of the importance of checking out, so far as possible, the genuineness of the warning. It would be wrong that bomb hoaxers should receive encouragement from any excessive BBC coverage.

However, even if a bomb warning proves to be a hoax, the precautionary action prompted by it may itself be newsworthy and should at least be considered for use by BBC newsrooms.

Equally, if the bomb warning is not a hoax and presages an explosion, the BBC could be seen to be failing in its duty if it did not publish details of the warning and on ensuring action by the authorities. Consideration of the danger to human life must take precedence over any possible undesirable publicity for a bomb hoaxer.

Procedures for Staff Receiving a Bomb Warning

The first duty of anyone receiving a bomb warning is to inform the police. This takes priority over deploying resources to cover the story.

The recipient of the call should keep the caller talking as long as possible and, after taking down the initial message about the bomb, should try to elicit further details relating to the bomb and its whereabouts, as well as further facts about the caller and his motive.

The police should be informed by dialling 999 and not by 'phoning Scotland Yard, any other police station or a police press bureau.

## D. REPORTING OF ACCIDENTS AND DISASTERS

### General Principles

In covering accidents, disasters and disturbances BBC journalists are expected to balance the requirements of full and accurate reporting against the obligation to avoid causing unnecessary distress or anxiety. The reporter's approach should not be given the impression the occasion is one for virtuosity in descriptive writing or for prowess in fact-finding - either on the scene or among distressed relatives and associates.

Emphasis should be placed on providing, swiftly and accurately, basic factual material - such as times, location, route and flight numbers etc. These facts are not only essential for covering the story, they also serve to put events in context, to convey a proper sense of scale and to minimise the concern of viewers and listeners who might fear the worst through ignorance of the true facts. Similar principles apply to coverage of civil disturbances, as well as of strikes and shortages.

### Concern for Relatives

It is, however, journalistically proper to withhold names of casualties when next of kin have not been informed. A reasonable time should be allowed for the bereaved to be notified personally by the appropriate organisation - armed services, airlines, etc. Temporary non-publication may well be the proper course even if the information has been published elsewhere in the media. In a limited number of cases, where the identity of the victim(s) is an integral part of the news story, withholding the information may not be possible. The public interest may require that certain personal details be published. There may be no way of avoiding this problem when the victim holds a position of public importance.

Requests by Authorities

Requests are sometimes received from the British or foreign governments for the broadcast of special announcements on the External Services. The BBC gives responsible consideration to such requests in the light of the emergency situation in question. This information may be included also in bulletins at the discretion of the editor. External Services news.

The BBC's domestic services and especially local radio, are ready to assist the authorities in tackling accidents and emergencies. Material is included in news bulletins subject to the usual editorial considerations.

E. NEWS BLACK-OUT REQUESTS

General Principles

Decisions about what information to publish and when must remain at all times with the BBC. Any decision to withhold newsworthy information is contrary to the BBC's normal journalistic practice and is justifiable only in exceptional circumstances.

Any journalist working for the BBC must forward for consideration by his or her editor any request for a news black-out and any pertinent information. Whatever the original source of a request, any output decision must be taken in consultation with the editors of television, radio or external services news, who will liaise with others as appropriate and with other newsrooms and programmes.

Information may, in principle, be withheld for a period,

i. as part of a recognised embargo arrangement;

ii. out of sympathy for next of kin to prevent their learning about a bereavement over the air (except where the identity of the dead is self-evident from the incident or disaster reported as a news event);

iii. in situations where human life could be jeopardised by premature publicity.

In the case of (iii), editorial decisions are critically affected by:

a. the motives - whether political or domestic;

b. the circumstances - whether public or private - attaching to particular situations.

Sieges, Hijacking, etc

Where the circumstances are public and the motives political, there are stronger arguments for publishing information than when editors find themselves dealing with a private kidnapping which has not been reported, and therefore placed into the public domain, as a news event. When the news context of an incident, as with a siege or aircraft hijacking, has already been established and some information already published, the imposition of a total news black-out is clearly irreconcilable with the BBC's credibility as a news organisation. On the other hand, it is no part of responsible journalism to do anything needlessly to increase the risk to human life. Within this framework the BBC will consider requests that it should:

i. withhold categories of information whose disclosure could obstruct the work of those seeking to resolve a situation with minimum harm to innocent people;

ii. broadcast information whose publication seems urgently necessary to avert a risk to human life.

Any action which the BBC takes under (ii) should, wherever possible, be concerted with other elements of the media. It must also satisfy the journalistic criteria for professional news reporting.

Private kidnappings

Where kidnappings occur in private and the victims are seized for domestic reasons, the argument for the public's right to know applies with less force than where a hostage-taking has political or social significance. It was to deal with the case of private kidnappings that in August 1976 the Home Office issued a circular to chief constables, containing guidance on news black-out requests in hostage and kidnap situations. That circular was drafted in consultation with both the police and the media, and its main points became known as the "Robert Mark rules". It recognised:

i. that the onus is on the police to justify to the media a request for withholding information;

ii. that requests should be confined to material whose publication may put human life in jeopardy. (The fact that disclosure might impede police operations is recognised as being insufficient justification in itself);

iii. that wherever possible an indication should be given to the media of the nature of the information they are being asked to withhold;

iv. that the period of an agreed black-out should not exceed 48 hours at a time, with the police being required to justify each request for an extension;

v. that reporters should be kept regularly and fully briefed to enable them to report the story in its entirety once the news black-out is lifted; an embargo on reporting should not be regarded as an embargo on journalistic activity.

In the circular it was suggested to editors that, if they were not satisfied with the arguments put forward by the police to justify a black-out, they should take a "second opinion" from the Home Office before making a final decision to publish.

General Considerations

In general, editors should bear in mind two contrasting types of risk to the BBC reputation:

i. the first is the risk inherent in ignoring professional advice - for example, from the police - not to broadcast information. The BBC could not readily defend a decision by which it had been instrumental in causing life to be lost. This consideration applies whether or not other elements in the media choose to publish the information in question;

ii. the second set of risks is to the BBC's credibility. It lies in an attitude of over-compliance with black-out requests, whether from official quarters or from any others seeking to control the flow of information. The BBC must guard against the growth of any outside presumption that information in its possession will be automatically or uncritically withheld. Additional reasons for proceeding with the broadcast of information may be that:

a. publicity is in the interests of justice, likely to provide, for instance, a lead to the whereabouts of a kidnap victim;

b. the purpose of criminals themselves are liable to be served by the imposition of a news black-out.

There is, in a democratic society, no obvious answer to the problem of inconsistent practice among news organisations in handling news black-out requests. The BBC must accept some risk to its credibility when it withholds information which may appear, for example, in the newspapers. This is a reason for examining each black-out request with rigour, but not necessarily for refusing it.

Re-broadcasting Official Internal Communications

In the event of the hijacking of an aircraft, or any other means of transport, or of a siege with terrorists holding hostages, the BBC must not re-broadcast any internal vhf messages transmitted between the authorities - for example, between air traffic control and a pilot, or between police officers.

Apart from such information possibly being useful to the terrorists should they have a radio, it is illegal to re-broadcast it, under the Wireless Telegraphy and Post Office Acts.

The BBC, however, reserves the right to refer to such traffic once any danger to life has passed and if the question of the communications existing at the time of the incident becomes relevant.

## 4.5. THE SWEDISH VIDEO COMMISSION

Stig Svärd

### Video enters the stage. The appointment of a commission

As in other countries, video was first used in Sweden as an aid in education and training in a number of different contexts. Educational television programmes were - and still are - taped and used in public schools and in adult education classes and study groups. In hospitals, specially produced video programmes are used to train personnel and to instruct patients in the care of their illnesses. Within business and industry, video is used to train personnel, to explain company policy, to inform about new products, and for marketing purposes. Subsidiaries in Sweden of multinational corporations are connected to their world-wide video networks, and some Swedish owned companies have established their own networks. Various branches of the state administration are using video both in their internal and their external information activities.

When, in the early seventies, the old open reel machines gave way to video cassette recorders, it became obvious that they would be used not only in the institutional field but also for entertainment purposes in the home.

A very rapid growth of the market was expected. Anticipations of a widespread use of video as a means for home entertainment triggered a debate on the merits and dangers of the new medium.

Some were worried and feared that the public might become uncritical, passive consumers of sports programmes, light entertainment, violence and pornography. This was expected to lead to more isolation, making people less likely to take part in social and political action. It was also thought that the well educated would choose programmes of a higher quality than the less well educated and that this would tend to conserve cultural and educational differences between social groups. There was also concern that home video might have harmful effects on children, both because of the amount of viewing in which they might indulge and the kind of programmes to which they might be exposed. It was suggested that the state should take action to control the output of programming.

Other observers claimed that it was desirable that through the new medium people be given a wider freedom of choice than the two TV channels which the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation offered. Adult persons, it was argued, should be allowed to take responsibility for their own viewing habits, and parents should be responsible for what their children saw. The state should ensure that good programmes were available. Video programmes shown publicly should be subject to the same rules as films shown in cinemas. It was claimed that if the state should try to control or limit the output of video programmes for private use this would be to tamper with the principle of freedom of expression, which must have the freedom to receive information as its counterpart.

In 1977, the nonsocialist government, which had taken office in the preceding year, appointed a commission consisting of five members from all parties in the Swedish Parliament except the Communists, to make recommendations concerning the use of video technology within the framework of the overall cultural policy adopted by parliament three years earlier. The terms of reference of the commission recognised that videograms have considerable potential for cultural activities, in the field of education, and as a means to inform and involve the citizens. "One must not, however," it was added, "ignore the risk that videograms - like any other new mass medium - may also have less desirable effects with respect to cultural policy in the longer term. This might be the case, if for example, videograms were to become a mass market item featuring programmes produced with no other than purely commercial ambitions." The commission was to give special attention to "measures designed to safeguard freedom of expression and to secure the practical preconditions for the exercise of that freedom". The needs of certain groups were to be accorded special consideration. Among those were children, merchant sailors, Swedes living abroad, and certain handicapped groups. In order to ensure the availability of programmes of good quality, the commission was to give special attention to the possibility of making television programmes produced by the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation available as videograms.

The growth of home video

The growth of the home video market was much slower than the industry had expected in the early seventies, but in 1980 the market took off. During that year, the number of video recorders in Sweden more than doubled, rising from 60,000 to 140,000. By the end of 1981, the total was about 300,000, representing 9% of all homes with a TV set. That is probably the highest penetration in any country except Japan. This year, however, the market has grown much more slowly, and the industry hopes to sell roughly the same number of machines as last year, thereby reducing the rate of increase from 110% in 1981 to about 50%. Even this may turn out to be too optimistic an estimate.

It is even more uncertain what kind of growth to expect in the years ahead. Sometimes comparisons are made with the spread of other electronic media. If the number of video recorders should increase at the same rate as colour TV sets in the early years of that technology, there will be 1.5 million video players in the country by the end of 1985, representing 41% of the homes with a TV set. If, on the other hand, the same number of video recorders are sold in the next few years as in 1981, the total will be around 900,000 at the end of 1985, representing 24% of all TV homes. The Video Commission said, in 1981, that probably the real outcome would be somewhere between those two estimates. Present market trends indicate, however, that even the lower figure may not be reached in 1985.

At the outset, home video recorders were used almost exclusively for recording television programmes for later use (time shift). The rapid increase in the sale of video recorders starting in 1980 created a market for prerecorded cassettes. Initially a large share of the titles available were films of a deplorably low quality, containing much pornography and violence, often mixing sex and violence.

According to Swedish law, a film may not be shown in public unless it is approved by a special agency, the State Cinema Bureau. Such approval is not to be accorded to films or sequences which may have a brutalising or a harmfully excitatory effect or which may seduce to crime. Neither is the Bureau to approve the public showing to children of films which which may be psychologically harmful to children. These censorship rules do not apply to films shown privately or to "trapped societies". Since the law was enacted before the advent of video it does not apply to moving pictures recorded on magnetic tape or on discs.

Thus the market of prerecorded cassettes could grow without the restraints imposed on cinema film by the rules of censorship. In December 1980 a television programme, "Who needs video?", exposed the availability of some video films with scenes of brutal violence. For some time "The Texas Chain-Saw Massacre" almost became a synonym of video. Public indignation requested new legislation to restrain violence in video. This affected the work of the Video Commission, which will be dealt with in the next section of this paper.

At the end of 1980 the market of prerecorded cassettes included between 600 and 700 titles. The Video Commission found that some 14% of those contained scenes with "brutal, sadistic violence". Since then, the market has grown rapidly. Some of the most violent films have been withdrawn and a large number of films that comply with the standards set by the rules of film censorship have been added. A study made by the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation in March 1981 showed, however, that video recorders were still primarily used for time shift. During one week, 75% of the programmes viewed in homes with a video player had been recorded off-air. In 1982 the corresponding figure was 63%. Prerecorded cassettes accounted for the rest.

Among programmes recorded off-air, TV fiction and entertainment accounted for about 20% each, children's programmes and feature films for 15% each. Of the persons interviewed only 8% reported they had seen a TV programme dealing with political or social matters on video, and none had seen a nature or science programme. Those having viewed prerecorded cassettes the day before the interview mentioned about 250 titles. 10% of those are Swedish productions, 95% of them being children's films. Many of the titles mentioned by male respondents between 9 and 24 years of age are adventure films and Westerns. Video viewers above 24 tend to see feature films of a better quality.

The average TV viewing time in Sweden is 82 minutes a day. For video owners it is 80 minutes. This marginal difference shows that, on the whole, video owners do not see TV less than the average Swede. Half

the video viewing takes place before 6 o'clock in the evening, ie before TV transmissions start. It seems, then, that video viewing does not replace TV viewing but is added to it. That runs counter to the expectations of some observers. We do not know on what kind of activities video is infringing.

It should be remembered, however, that video still accounts for a rather small share of the overall media mix. On an average day only about 5% of the total population see video. About two thirds of video owners turn on their players once a week (1).

The recommendations of the Video Commission

The Video Commission covered a wide range of aspects of the new technology. It made recommendations on, among other things, the distribution of Swedish TV programmes on video cassettes to Swedes living abroad, the use of video as a communications medium for migrant workers from abroad, the distribution of videograms through public libraries, the use of video for the benefit of the deaf, the establishment of media workshops in order to stimulate local communication, the development of video art, and the use of video in education. Altogether in its four years of work the commission published six reports, totalling about 1,300 pages. In this section I shall confine myself to presenting its discussion of violence in video and the measures needed to restrict it.

At an early stage of its work, the commission asked a sociologist, Dr. Kerstin Elmhorn, to make a survey of research available in different countries on the way children are influenced by film, television and video. The result was published under the title Film on TV i barnens värld ("Film and TV in the world of children"). It partly deals with the effects of violence. From this report and other evidence available the commission in its final report, Video, drew the following conclusion: "Viewing TV programmes which repeatedly use violence for entertainment purposes and treat it in a positive way will result in influencing our attitudes so that violence is accepted. This, in turn, may lead to antisocial attitudes and asocial and maybe criminal behaviour."

Discussing the supply of prerecorded cassettes containing frequent scenes with violence available on the consumer market, the commission wrote: "Crude, speculative descriptions of violence in videograms and films are in glaring contrast to the ethical and humanistic values which are fundamental in our society." At the same time, the commission was aware that freedom of expression is another basic value, which enjoys the protection of the Swedish Constitution. Thus there is a conflict, which calls for careful solution.

---

(1) The report on video viewing in 1982 from the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation has not yet been published. Hopefully it will be possible to give a better account of its results at the hearing in Assisi. By then, other reports on video in Sweden may also be available.

In Sweden, there is a rather general consensus on three points that are of importance in this context:

1. The portrayal of factual violence, eg in reporting from war and unrest in different parts of the world, must be permitted. It may be regarded as an aspect of the freedom of information which is essential in the forming of public opinion. One must, however, be aware that even portrayals of this kind of violence may be harmful. Studies by Dr. W A Belson in London indicate that most people can stand a certain amount of violence without being influenced negatively by it but that they suddenly reach a limit where they start using violence.

2. In works of art the portrayal of violence may be justified or even necessary because it helps us to understand our world and ourselves. Obviously it is difficult to draw the line between what is justified on artistic grounds and what is not.

3. Films and videograms that are to be shown to children must conform to stricter standards than those seen by adults. This principle was easy to uphold when films were shown only in cinemas where age limits could be enforced. It was undercut when films started to be shown on TV and when prerecorded video cassettes became generally available, since in the living room no age limits can be enforced.

The Video Commission found that there are at least three different ways to curb the distribution of films and videograms with violence:

1. The adoption by the industry of self-imposed ethical standards

There have been attempts initiated by the industry itself to reach an agreement on such guidelines. The Video Commission tried to assist in this process and invited representatives of the film and video industry and the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation to a hearing in March 1981. The Secretariat of the Commission made the suggestion that wholesale distributors of videograms should sign an agreement on certain ethical guidelines and that, furthermore, they should undertake to distribute videograms only through retailers who had promised not to carry any videograms from companies not having signed the agreement. At that time, however, it was not possible to reach such an agreement. The representatives of the film industry wanted to wait and see if another government commission might recommend the abolition of censorship of films for adults. Deliberations on ethical standards continued, however, even after the Video Commission had completed its work. Largely because of the pressure of public opinion, ten major videogram distributors in November 1981 signed an agreement to conform to the standards of film censorship. A number of companies, however, have so far refused to join it.

2. Censorship

In Sweden, films that are to be shown in cinemas must first be inspected by the Cinema Bureau (see the preceding section). Demands have been made that this censorship be extended to comprise even films and videograms

which are made available for private use. The Video Commission discussed this matter in some detail. For a number of reasons, it rejected the idea of such an extension of obligatory censorship.

It would be in conflict with the principle of freedom of expression, the Commission said, adding that it was doubtful if it would be compatible with the Constitution. Furthermore, obligatory censorship of films and videograms for private use would require a considerable enlargement of the Cinema Bureau because of the number of titles that would have to be inspected. The Commission also referred to the fact that films shown on TV are not subject to censorship since it was considered important to give public service radio and television an independent position in Swedish society. The basic programme rules are laid down in a contract between the state and the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation, which allows considerable freedom of expression in those media. The Commission asked if it would be consistent to require films and videograms shown in the home to be inspected in advance by a government agency while TV programmes seen in the home were not subject to such censorship. Thus the independent position of the Broadcasting Corporation might be prejudiced. Finally, the Commission pointed out that obligatory censorship of films and videograms for private use would only be partially effective, since anyone would be able to buy uninspected video cassettes abroad, which could then be lent to friends and neighbours.

3. Legislation on content, with violations prosecuted "after the event"

In June 1981, a law was adopted which prohibits the commercial renting or showing to children below 15 of films and videograms with detailed and realistic portrayals of violence or threats of violence to human beings or animals. This year, parliament passed another law prohibiting the distribution to adults of films and videograms containing indiscreet and prolonged portrayals of brutal or sadistic violence. Violation of those laws will be prosecuted "after the event".

This was in line with the recommendations of the Video Commission, which in its final report suggested that the standards now governing film censorship be used to formulate a new law determining the kind of content which is not to be permitted in films and videograms. It should be the task of the courts to decide when this law is violated. Since the border lines between different media are becoming more and more hazy, it might be possible to extend a law of this kind to include several media - films and videograms, whether shown in public or distributed for private use, and television.

The procedure for deciding whether this law has been violated should be the same as in cases involving violations of the law on the freedom of the press. One important feature of this procedure is that for each publication there has to be a publisher who bears the sole responsibility for what appears in the publication. There seems to be no difficulty to transfer this requirement to films and videograms.

The Commission said that it is up to the publisher to judge whether the contents of a film or a videogram conform to the law or not. It ought to be in the interest of the industry to establish an advisory agency to which a publisher can turn in doubtful cases. The Commission also suggested that youth organisations and organisations of professionals who work with children might feel the need to create some kind of agency to review videograms that appear on the market and provide them with a declaration of content as a service to parents and teachers.

Most of the recommendations of the Video Commission have not yet been acted on by the Government. Matters dealing with censorship and other questions related to freedom of expression are being considered by a special commission which is expected to present its recommendations in the fall of 1982.

Draft questionnaire

| Methods of restriction / Audiovisual areas | Films shown publicly | Video shown publicly | Films shown privately | Video shown privately | Broadcasting | Pay-TV | ... |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Legal restrictions on what may be shown | | | | | | | |
| a) Censorship before showing mandatory, verdict binding. | | | | | | | |
| b) Examination before showing mandatory, verdict not binding. Courts determine if violation has taken place. | | | | | | | |
| c) No censorship. Violation prosecuted after showing. | | | | | | | |
| 2. No legal restrictions | | | | | | | |
| a) Contract between state and industry. | | | | | | | |
| b) Voluntary agreement on ethical standards. | | | | | | | |
| c) Classification of films/ programmes and information to the public. | | | | | | | |
| 3. .. | | | | | | | |

## 4.6. TELEVISION VIOLENCE AND ADOLESCENT BOYS - Dr William Belson

### 1. The Origination of the Investigation

In the early 1970's the Columbia Broadcasting System of the U.S.A. funded a large-scale investigation, to be conducted under my direction, into the effects on London boys of long-term exposure to violence on television. (1)

This study was conducted against the background of many U.S.A. investigations concerned with that issue - studies that nonetheless left room for a degree of doubt about what their results were taken to mean. Some of the U.S.A. studies involved the simulation of real-life television and/or of real-life violence (in order to set up tight experimental controls) but this left room for argument about the relevance to 'real-life' of the findings. Other studies involved what was no more than a comparison of the violence levels of people with different degrees of exposure to television or to television violence. Such studies were open to challenge on the grounds that mere difference does not establish causal connection. Though the great bulk of the U.S.A. studies provided evidence that was consistent with the hypothesis that exposure to television violence helps to produce violence by the viewers, doubts could justifiably be expressed.

The Survey Research Centre was invited, on the basis of the writer's earlier study of causal hypotheses(2) to undertake an investigation into the effects on London boys of long term exposure to television violence. The enquiry was to be geared to the real-life situation and it was to overcome or to go beyond the limitations of purely correlational or comparative research.

### 2. The Methods Used

In the circumstances, my team and I proceeded as follows.

(a) We spent some 17 months first in developing well grounded hypotheses about the nature of the possible effects of television violence on boys and, then, in constructing the necessary research tools or measures. Two of these measuring techniques were particularly important: (i) a technique for measuring involvement in violence, at each of two levels, in the last six months; (ii) the extent of exposure of boys to television violence as they grew up. Over 500 boys aged 12-17 were involved in this purely preparatory work.

(b) After this came a social investigation of a complex kind, based on a random sample of London boys (1565 cases), and involving

---

(1) Television Violence and the Adolescent Boy, W.A. Belson, Gower Publishing Co., London, 1978.

(2) Juvenile Theft: Causal Factors, W.A. Belson, Harper and Row, London, 1975.

first (i) extensive questioning of boys and their parents at home and then (ii) some three hours or more of tests and measurements and questioning of the boys (alone and in total privacy) at the Survey Research Centre. These tests included the crucial one of extent and nature of involvement in violent behaviour in the last six months.

(c) On the basis of this processing, and as a first step, the 1565 boys were first split into two groups according to the extent of their exposure to violence on television. Their violence 'scores' were compared [3] and any differences were seen as springing from one or more of the following three sources:

(i) the greater exposure to television violence of one of the two sub-samples;

(ii) a difference between those two sub-samples in terms of basic characteristics and/or background factors associated with violent behaviour;

(iii) a tendency for boys with an inherently violent disposition to choose to watch a lot of television violence just because of that violent disposition.

A very complex analysis of the data was then made (as planned) in order to resolve those ambiguities - ambiguities typical of any purely comparative study. See (d) below

(d) First, the less heavily exposed sub-sample (called 'Controls') were massively matched to the more heavily exposed sub-sample (called the 'Qualifiers') To achieve this, over 200 variables were assembled as a 'pool', all of them put forward as possible correlates of violence or of violent outlook. Asymmetrical progressive empirically-based splitting[4] was used to develop a large composite of them that maximised the power of the whole 'pool' of variables to predict violent behaviour (by the boys). The matching of the Controls to the Qualifiers was in terms of this large composite of predictors. After this matching, the residual differences between the Qualifiers and the modified Controls were examined. For both 'serious violence' and 'violence considered generally, the differences in violence levels remained appreciable, that for serious violence being 49% (i.e. the more heavily exposed boys were much more involved in seriously violent behaviour than were the modified Controls).

---

(3) There were in all some 14 different sorts of possible effect under investigation, including physical and verbal violence of different kinds and a range of attitudes.

(4) See "Matching and Prediction on the Principle of Biological Classification", W.A. Belson, Applied Statistics, 1959.

(e) There remained the possibility that the difference between the Qualifiers and the Modified (or matched) controls was the result of inherently violent boys watching a lot of violence on television just because of such an inherent tendency. To deal with this possibility, there had been included in the 'pool' of possible matching variables, a large number of variables dealing with childhood tendencies towards violence.

(f) But in addition a further check was made. The causal hypothesis was reversed and tested, a 'pool' of about 200 possible correlates of exposure to television violence being used for the generation of a large matching composite. After matching, the residual difference between the matched sub-samples was examined. For 'serious violence, there was virtually no difference between exposure levels.

5. Findings

The many findings from this enquiry are set out in the full report. They relate to the investigation of 163 principal hypotheses. The more noteworthy of the findings are summarized below.

(a) There was major support for the hypothesis that long-term exposure to television violence increases markedly the extent to which boys do themselves engage in violent behaviour(5).

(b) Most forms of television violence appear to increase serious violence by boys. But certain types appear to do so more than others. The 'top five' producers of serious violence are:

- Violence presented in the context of close personal relations;
- Violence presented as in a good cause;
- Fictional violence presented in a realistic way;
- Violence of a kind that seems to be just thrown in for its own sake and is not necessarily a development from the plot;
- Westerns.

On the other hand, some types of television violence do not appear to increase serious violence by boys. These are :

- cartoon violence (though it was productive of violent behaviour at a relatively non-serious level);
- slapstick violence (perhaps because it would cease being funny if really vicious);

---

(5) In the 'last six months' referred to in the enquiry, about half the boys in the sample had been involved in at least one act of the serious kind and about 12% had been involved persistently. By 'serious violence' was meant a very wide range of things of the general level of seriousness of the following examples: I deliberately cut a boy with a knife/ hit someone hard with a heavy stick/dropped a lighted cigarette into a shopper's bag/loosened the nut on a boy's handlebars to cause him to crash/knocked a boy off his bike as he rode past/cut the tyres on a car/gouged the paint on a car/slashed the seats on a train/half strangled a cat/ busted a telephone in a kiosk/ threatened to kill someone/told a boy his mother had been killed just to worry him/broke in somewhere and smashed things/.....

. science fiction violence (perhaps because it is so unrealistic);
. sporting presentations with the exception of wrestling and boxing.

(c) A substantial part of the increase in serious violence by boys was in terms of behaviour that is unplanned, unskilled and spontaneous in character.

(d) The increase in serious violence by boys is not immediate, but tends to occur after a moderate degree of 'intake' of television violence. What this means is that there is a margin of safety in the presentation of television violence, but that if the 'intake' continues serious violence will break out. For lesser levels of violence by boys there is no 'margin of safety'.

(e) Changes in behaviour are not accompanied by changes in attitudes at the conscious level.

4. Comments on the Findings

A close examination of the findings provides a strong case for saying that the effect of exposure to television violence is to 'wear down' boys' training or conditioning against being violent, so that they tend to act as if that training had not occurred. It appears that as the 'wear down' progresses, boys eventually 'let go' with such serious violence as is inherent in them.

The finding that there appears to be a margin of safety in the presentation of television violence does not apply to lesser forms of violence by boys. But (as far as serious violence is concerned), it implies that broadcasters could use that 'margin of safety' for the presentation of only that sort of violence that is necessary in the interests of responsible and realistic broadcasting (as in presenting the news). The 'margin of safety' should not be used up on gratuitous violence or on other of the types of violence that are especially prone to produce serious violence in boys.

5. Recommendations made at the time the report was first presented

(a) At the time the report was presented in 1975, a set of guidelines for broadcasters' (based on the findings) was also published. These are presented as an Appendix to this paper.

(b) It was further recommended that:

(i) There should be a cut-back in the total amount of violence presented on television and that this could be more easily achieved if broadcasters thought of violence first and foremost as socially dangerous and only secondly as entertainment (whereas the opposite seems to be true of them).

(ii) Further research should be conducted to extend the guidelines for broadcasters.

(iii) A monitoring service should be set up with the purpose of determining the extent and the nature of television violence being presented (and this information be made available regularly to the public and to interested administrators and anyone else wanting it).

6. The response of broadcasters to the recommendations and a re-statement of the last of them

Despite the considerable publicity given to the report of 1978 and to its recommendations, and despite an appearance of acceptance by the BBC and the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) in the United Kingdom, the message of the report appears to have fallen on deaf ears as far as those authorities are concerned. Indeed, this has been their ultimate response to the continuing stream of indications from the U.S.A. studies. Furthermore, I have been unable to secure any funds whatsoever from either of them for the recommended follow-up research.

Against this background, I have been seeking fund support, from other sources, for setting up a monitoring service which would study (for regular publication) the form and the frequency of violence presented in television programmes, and the degree to which the BBC/IBA guidelines are in fact being observed and maintained. This monitoring service should, I believe, eventually take on further analyses, for example, the ways in which television presents the people of other nations, its own national minorities, the family, women. But it would deal only with television violence to start with.

The setting up of such a service on scientific lines and in the right administrative context will call for preliminary research and organisation extending over a period of about a year. The project would be conducted under my direction.

I hope that the Council of Europe will be interested in this monitoring project and in its financial support. I believe that a monitoring service is a vital step in such measures as are taken for the protection of society from the misuse of the television medium. Further moves might well be necessary, but they should be made against a background of evidence.

# APPENDIX

## GUIDELINES DEVELOPED FROM THE ENQUIRY

### Programme features MORE likely to stimulate serious violence in boys

1. Programmes where violence of a nasty kind appears to be sanctioned by showing it being done in a good cause or with seeming legality.

2. Programmes that make it easy for boys to identify with the person or persons being violent.

3. Programmes where the subject matter is of a kind which tends to demand that the constituent violence be on a large scale, possibly with mass killings ... westerns have tended to be of this kind, as have many programmes of the epic variety.

4. Programmes where the law enforcer, in order to defeat villains, does himself commit considerable violence, perhaps of a kind that is tougher and nastier than that used by the villains.

5. Programmes in which violence is presented in a context where personal relationships are a major theme ... in real life, priority has been given, through training and sanctions, to the protection of our working relationships with other people against the outbreak of serious violence ... presumably the presentation by television of nastiness and violence as a normal element is such relationships tends to reduce in boys such barriers as society has built up in them against being seriously violent in the personal relationships context.

6. Programmes where television violence of a serious kind is taken out of its developmental context (as when it is "just thrown in"), so that: (1) it can be made more violent than its developmental background would warrant it being; (2) boys are not in a position to regard that developmental background as unlikely to apply to them.

7. Programmes where the violence is presented with such realism that it is unlikely to be rejected as mere fiction, but instead is given the weight of believability and normality.

### Programme features LESS likely to stimulate serious violence in boys

1. Programmes where the violence shown is obviously far beyond the capabilities and/or the opportunities of the viewer, as are many forms of science fiction and cartoon programmes.

2. Programmes where the violence shown is so ridiculous or far-fetched that it is passed off by boys as having nothing to do with real life.

3. Where the programme is humorous - in that a humorous presentation or theme is likely to make it harder for the programmer to introduce into it really nasty violence ... this is not the same as saying that a humourous context somehow lessens the effects of such violence as is inherent in it.

4. Programmes where the violence presented is of the purely verbal kind rather than being all or partly of the physical kind ... such programmes are less likely to stimulate serious violence ... (at the same time, the evidence indicates that they do produce violence of the less serious kind, particularly swearing and the use of bad language).

5. Programmes where the television experience leaves the boy satisfied and good tempered - as distinct from tense or irritated or bored.

6. Actuality programmes where the televised violence is, as it were, closely contained within a special environment - as for the sporting event where the televised violence is in fact an accurate presentation of the specialised violence that is intrinsic to that particular sport.

7. Programmes where the process of watching a televised event is likely to keep boys out of a situation in which the violence is likely to occur (eg a televised major soccer match).

8. In actuality broadcasting, provided it is not markedly selective and is not edited to highlight its more violent elements ... This is mainly because actuality tends to put a limit upon the excesses of the occasional producer who has an innovative fixation on the production of nasty or epic violence.

4.7. VIOLENCE AND FILMS

Domenico Meccoli

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

a. Violence is said to be one of the two basic themes in films, the other being sex. The explanation of this phenomenon (and its success) lies, according to some psychologists, in the fact that violence and sexual freedom, which were natural in primitive man, were as though stifled with man's gradual adoption of the rules of life in society and survive as kinds of unconscious frustration.

b. Nowadays violence is a part of everyday life. The mass media give us a daily diet of wars, guerrilla activities, coups d'état, repression, outrages, slaughter, robbery and assaults that gradually induces a state of habituation from which individuals and their peer groups are roused only when they are directly concerned. And habituation is the parent of indifference, which turns the individual into a mere spectator of the sufferings of others.

For the same reasons and through the same channels a similar impact is made by non-sanguinary forms of violence ranging from those involving corruption and fraud to those such as advertising techniques that are in a sense conditioned by man's own behaviour.

c. Instead of improving and developing the individual's critical faculties the continuous, incessant, indiscriminate and contradictory torrent of audiovisual information ends up by diminishing them and fostering the decline and degradation of moral standards by increasingly blurring the distinction between good and evil, right and wrong, truth and falsehood. We all know that no news is good news, and public information channels are no exception to this rule.

d. The mass media have promoted and spread ostentation and the idea of the hero at all levels. (In the case of the cinema, Chaplin sensed this in no time in one of his earliest slapstick films, "Kid Auto Races" (1914), in which he is seen repeatedly showing off in front of a motion-picture camera that is filming a small-car race.)

e. The mass media themselves become instruments of violence when, as happens more and more often, they invade privacy and when they are controlled and directed by powerful political and economic interests.

2. THE CINEMA

In these circumstances, it is strangely enough the cinema rather than the other media that is held to be guilty of fostering violence, and this regardless of the fact that:

a. motion pictures, even when based on real events, are fruits of the imagination and the spectator is aware of this;

b. film production is conditioned by the public who are free to pay or not to pay for a ticket to see a particular film: indeed at the present time there has been a marked drop in the number of films of violence and box office receipts indicate a clear preference for films that amuse or offer opportunities for escape (eg. space adventures). In other words, the market reacts on its own account, opening or closing itself automatically to one genre or another, and therefore to violence too. The natural intermediaries between the public and film producers - ie. exhibitors and distributors - can speed up or retard this process but cannot prevent it.

At all events, it is a moot point whether violence in films is harmful. There are no scientifically irrefutable studies of a causal relationship. Psychologists and sociologists are divided, some claiming that the portrayal of violence acts as an incitement to copy it and others arguing that it is cathartic and liberating. Nevertheless even the latter group recognises that it may have a pathological influence on subjects with a predisposition to aggressiveness.

But even if negatively suggestible subjects are a minority, this does not mean that there is no need to consider the desirability of correctives, especially when the cineast's sole aim is, for reasons of pecuniary gain, to pander to the public's worst instincts or when his own moral and creative limitations render him incapable of so depicting violence that its inherent evil and the pain it causes are understood.

The following should be completely proscribed:

- detailed ("technical") portrayal of acts of violence and of crime generally;
- brutality;
- scenes of torture and gratuitous sadism;
- apoligias of violence
- incitement to hatred.

But how can this be done? By the film industry setting up its own supervisory boards to ensure observance of a freely accepted code of practice? By state censorship?

Film industry's own supervisory boards: these have proved ineffective. Having no legal status, they cannot impose obligations on non-members and this, in short, means that their decisions are disregarded by the members themselves.

Censorship: this instrument is discredited because of its inevitable subservience to the political whims of governments and always constitutes a restriction of freedom. If adults are considered intelligent enough to vote, ie. to choose their own representatives to conduct affairs of state,

they must also be reckoned sufficiently intelligent to choose and judge a film without the intervention of some intermediary body. Properly structured censorship is, on the other hand, essential for deciding which films should be classed as unsuitable for minors. Such films would certainly include those containing incitement to hatred and violence of the kinds mentioned earlier.

An agreement along these lines between all Council of Europe member states would be desirable, and not only in respect of films screened in public cinemas but also in respect of those shown on television, a much more widespread and less easily controlled medium.

The magnitude of the problem is not fully appreciated and yet it is one that is going to get steadily worse as a result of technological developments which will make dissemination easier.

Furthermore, not all the regulations in force give the problem of violence the attention it deserves. (On the other hand, we know that there are countries with totalitarian regimes in which the film industry is brainwashed into exalting higher ideals and banishing violence, though this does not prevent such countries from resorting to violence to promote their own interests and impose their own will.)

If common action is to be taken on the essential principles, it would be important for the Assisi hearing to have an up-to-date comparative study of the attention paid to violence in the various European countries' statutes and regulations.

3. CONCLUSIONS

Freedom is the principal prerequisite of the search for truth, but truth cannot be established without dialectics and the dialectical process cannot ignore violence, which is one aspect of reality. Unfortunately, in most cases, violence becomes purely and simply a spectacle to satisfy the public's depraved tastes and in so doing contributes to deception and falsehood rather than to truth. This applies as much to the other media as to the cinema, their interrelationship being obvious.

How can we tackle and discourage this kind of aberration?

Mention has already been made of the possibility of a common agreement to control the screening and broadcasting of films classed as unsuitable for minors and of the inclusion of violence among the deciding factors for such classification. Furthermore, pressure might be brought to bear on economic interests, for instance by requiring states not to give financial aid to the production of films (for cinemas or, in most cases now, for both cinemas and television) that are characterised by gratuitous violence.

But an urgent appeal ought to go out from St Francis' native land and in his name for reflection on the media's moral responsibility, asking their staffs to show respect for man and for human life and, at the same time, reminding parents of the need and of their duty to prevent their children from seeing any scenes of violence that may be shown on television. The effects of repressive measures are partial and transitory, and private interests eventually find loopholes and ways round them. Generally speaking, therefore, the greatest emphasis needs to be placed on developing in children from their earliest schooldays a critical awareness of the positive and negative features of the mass media.

## 4.8. A POSITIVE APPROACH THROUGH FORMAL EDUCATION

R.C.R. Blackledge

1. Introduction. Project No. 1 of the Council for Cultural Cooperation (CDCC): "Preparation for Life"

1.1 The Council for Cultural Cooperation held its end of project conference in May on Project No. 1 - "Preparation for Life". This was the culmination of four years' work on a wide ranging topic which examined the present and possible future needs of the 14-19 age groups in the member states.

1.2 These ages had been chosen because it was felt that "firstly they cover a major part of the period of adolescence which is characterised by intensive physical, psychological and social growth. Secondly they include the end of compulsory education, when all young people have to take important and sometimes irrevocable decisions about their future. Thirdly, in a large number of countries, the age of majority has been lowered to 18, with the result that many young people can vote, marry, open a bank account and drive a car, while still at school". (1)

1.3 It was realised that these young people would develop in different environments and have differing needs and claims.

1.4 It was also emphasised that this development occurs in a period of unprecedented technological change and in a time of great social and political uncertainty.

1.5 Project No. 1 identified five areas for examination, research and comment leading to reflection and action:

(a) Preparation for personal development.

(b) Preparation for life in society and in a democracy.

(c) Preparation for working life.

(d) Preparation for cultural life.

(e) Preparation for further studies and training.

It was realised that there was some overlap in these headings. It was further appreciated that 14-19 is but one section of the education spectrum. There had already been a CDCC project report on pre-school education and a new project has just commenced which between 1983-6 plans to survey the 5-14 age group.

1.6 The declaration and many of the papers associated with the project emphasise repeatedly that "although the school is not the only source of education, it has, more than ever before, a crucial role to play in forming independent and responsible individuals". (2)

---

(1) Draft project group report to the CDCC, DECS/EGT (82)37, para 15

(2) Declaration, see below, page 224

1.7 Behaviour in school (or college) was considered throughout the project. The importance of the correct atmosphere or ethics in a school was a matter for continuous comment.

2. Recommendations of the project

These are contained in an agreed declaration which will be considered by the CDCC at its 43rd session in February 1983.

The importance for this hearing lies in two fields:

(a) formal education

(b) informal education

and these two cannot in my view be separated. I hope that I shall not trespass on the second part of this evidence viz. "other approaches", - but I doubt if you would expect the project or me to disregard the role of the family, the parent, the peer group, the media etc, - the informal curriculum and its enormous impact on the process of development of the pupil in school. The declaration stresses, "There should be a partnership between the school and other social institutions. In particular the following institutions should interact with the school:

i. the family ...

ii. the local community ...

iii. political and social institutions ...

iv. other countries ...

v. the world of work ...

vi. the world of culture .."(1)

I believe most strongly that the extent and strength of this partnership is crucial to your debate and your concern. It has to be an honest, open partnership and some constraints and much inertia have to be overcome eg. society attitudes to education and its purpose, their priorities, examination systems and family expectations, teacher fears and attitudes on status, vested interests etc. But failure to move on this will almost certainly lead to a continuation of an educational status quo in a world of "shifting and quick sands". This is where frustration, apathy, boredom, social unrest, social breakdown and violence will be bred.

But, the declaration continues, "the organisation curricula and atmosphere of schools in member states should reflect the spirit of this declaration" (2) in giving pupils the opportunity to acquire the necessary knowledge in the five

---

(1) Declaration, section B.

(2) Declaration, section D (and C).

project themes, encouraging full partnership with the community and allowing pupils to involve themselves actively and increasingly in their preparation for life by giving them opportunities for practice in decision-making, dialogue and social and political responsibility.

The teachers and others need support, stimulus and resources to undertake these tasks. They need special initial and in-service training programmes in such matters as careers guidance and counselling, social and life skills, experience in the work place, democratic leadership which has regard to the needs of the many diverse groups.

Some of us believe, and alas! this is not always understood or accepted by society, that the atmosphere and climate in a school is the soil in which the formal curriculum succeeds or fails. A balance has to be struck in which the development of right attitudes accompanies the development of learning. Both have to be present and distortions in either direction are a recipe for educational ill health. The project states clearly that a caring, compassionate school environment is all important.

3. Violence and the school

3.1 What is violence in school?

Does this mean incidents arising out of lack of respect for others?

(a) other people

(b) other people's property

(c) other people's ideas

3.2 It can be active or passive - physical or mental. It is easy to list the physical; assault, bullying, anti-teacher, anti-pupil behaviour. But mental violence is equally important, it leads to distress, under-functioning. It can scar a person for life and cause great unhappiness and even mental breakdown. Sarcasm, threats, isolation, baiting, apathy lead to passiveness, frustration etc. Reports on people's performance can be damaging and hurtful.

To these can be added attacks on property, vandalism, thieving, destruction of other people's clothes. But what about other behaviour issues, do they constitute violence? - absence, letting people down, time-keeping. The line is hard to define. Again some violence is natural, sometimes violence in school has to take place to defend, perhaps a moral principle. There has to be a balance of behaviour which is acceptable to the society of which the pupil is a part.

3.3 What are the major influences?

(a) Home - the structure of relationships is important. This includes methods of dealing with indiscipline, social and economic position of the family, the amount of media and peer group influence.

(b) School - what are the stated aims and objectives of the school with regard to a code of behaviour? What is the relationship between all member groups? How is indiscipline dealt with? Are the procedures published and known?

4. What can the school do?

4.1 Create the right atmosphere

The relationships between the Head and his staff are paramount. Is there respect one for the other? There also has to be consensus on how to proceed to develop the code of conduct. The underlying general principles should be the same for pupils and staff. Special care has to be taken with groups with handicaps and for all pupils there should be opportunity for participation, and listening to the pupils' views.

This does not produce an undisciplined easygoing school, rather the opposite. Everyone knows the rules, the rules are effectively applied and followed up and the emphasis is on efficient formal education within an agreed framework.

4.2 Identification of violence

Continuous vigilance is called for. Teachers need training to know what to look for:

(a) unhappiness in the child

(b) work falling off or not up to standard

(c) physical marks

(d) non attendance

(e) furtiveness

(f) continuing excuses

All these need investigation, counselling and an agreed procedure for dealing with offenders against the code.

4.3 Remedy

Is this punishment? Many varying views cf. UK, USSR, USA. The vital point is that the matter is identified and agreed action is taken. There should be no continuing feud after the remedy has been applied.

4.4 Training of teachers

There is a great deal of urgent need for this side of schooling to be included in initial and in-service training. Too much is being left to chance. More work needs to be done on social and life skills accompanied by study of actual cases.

4.5 Relationship with the community

Why is the emphasis in schools so often on the basic formal curriculum?

Major constraints: - The status quo. Parents say it is their job.
Parental expectations - a natural selfishness
Industrial expectations
Higher educational expectations
Schools do not cooperate at the various changeover points - 5, 11, 16, 19 years.

5. General conclusions

The whole formal and informal curriculum in school is a laboratory in which life skills can be practised and learned. Admittedly the outside and other influences are powerful. But much more can still be achieved, as it is in now the best schools, by agreeing the fundamental aims and objectives of the school, carrying them out and checking regularly to see how well the process has been carried through. A fundamental aim should be to produce the right atmosphere and climate in the school, in which the formal curriculum will flourish and boredom, apathy, frustration and anti-social behaviour will disappear.

## 4.9. VIOLENCE AND SCHOOL: A TEACHER'S POINT OF VIEW

Liliane Urben

### Introduction

Is youth violence in 1980 similar to what it was in 1968? It seems unlikely.

1968 stood for hopes of radical change in the goals of life, born of ideas thought out mainly by students.

1980 stands for revolt among their younger brothers and sisters, their suburban cousins and first and second generation migrants.

Meanwhile the goals have changed little, if at all - there has even been some backsliding - while forms have deteriorated and attitudes have hardened:

- the economic boom has turned into a recession,
- full employment into unemployment or the threat of it,
- hash into hard drugs
- rowdiness into disorder,
- work into any old job to survive.

People no longer talk of disarmament, but of arms limitation, and young pacifists are accused of being "anti-peace".

It is as if adults and young people were talking through a glass wall: no sound can get through. And when a word manages to penetrate all the same, it arrives twisted and misinterpreted.

So no wonder young people adopt a negative stance (rejection of school and the establishment, absenteeism, drugs) or attack the outward signs (cars, shop windows) of a prosperity they feel has nothing to offer them.

No wonder the adult world resorts to force and repression (punishment, police measures) and this proves ineffective.

o

o o

Violence at school

School has changed. Activity methods have made their way into many classrooms, which have become hives of activity where one can no longer hear a pin drop if one tries. So a lively class is not to be confused with an unruly one.

Nevertheless, from nursery school upwards, teachers often find children tense and restless or apathetic and tired. Normal childhood agression (especially in teenagers) is increasing and turning into protection rackets, vandalism and theft. Absenteeism is on the rise, verbal clashes are frequent and assaults against teachers have begun to occur in several countries.

Causes of violence in or around schools

General causes

- Misguided town planning: Children live in housing units which are too small, too noisy and offer them no chance to be on their own.

Playgrounds are inexistent, scarce or too far away (how can you keep an eye on children playing 18 floors below, and call to them or reassure them?).

There are no places for teenagers and young adults to get together or make music.

Sports and cultural facilities are either lacking or few and far between.

In many dormitory towns, the one place with some life in it is the shopping centre, so no wonder young people go there and have fun in their own way.

Large housing estates exude loneliness and boredom.

- Lack of sleep and rest: For many young people, working days are too long and largely taken up with travel, waiting about and slack time (transport and mealtimes sometimes double the time spent in school). Then when they come home, they are snapped up by television.

- Fast pace of life and lack of parental receptivity: The distance parents travel to work, the clash between adult working hours and school timetables, the father's absence, the parents' lack of contact with school, job or money worries and the fear of unemployment all erode relationships and cut people off from one another (they have either no time to talk or do not feel like it).

- Extra handicaps due to cultural differences (language, customs): In some European towns more than 50% of the school population come from migrant families. They are often socially underprivileged, and also have to cope with language and culture handicaps.

Causes specific to school

The signs are the same as in society at large:

- Inadequate school facilities: Putting 800 teenagers in one school means deliberately ignoring the fact that large numbers cause intolerance.

When the pupils of two or three outlying districts are brought together, the risks of violence do not add up - they are multiplied, blown up as they go along by this age group's well-known and normal urge to provoke. In addition, the facilities are often distressingly bleak, there are no places to meet between lessons or after lunch and the canteens are noisy, anonymous places conducive to little else than disorder and boredom.

In a smaller village or district primary school situated close to the family home, with greater opportunities for parents and staff to meet, where the one teacher often becomes a model and the class a second family, and the pupils are in a younger age group, small wonder that violence should occur on a smaller scale or be easier to control through positive action.

- Educational aims which are contradictory or out of touch with the real world: Parliamentary directives, educational trends and economic requirements all expect school to prepare pupils for working life (acquisition of knowledge, technical qualifications and skills suited to modern science and technology), and at the same time to develop their personalities, creativity, sense of responsibility, critical outlook, team spirit and autonomy.

Not to mention teaching road safety, sex education, health, economics and ecology (how to ride a bicycle, how to look after body and soul, how to buy things, how to eat, how to protect the environment and so on).

These aims are not necessarily incompatible, but it takes time to carry them out. The requisite conditions have to be set up. Co-operation or civic spirit are not lessons but experiences. So when teachers have to choose between spelling or arithmetic - knowing how important they will be later on for the choice of an occupation - and training in critical outlook, they are understandably hesitant.

- Curricula and syllabuses: These are stuffed with useless ideas, remote from reality and meaningless for many pupils. What can a child of eight get out of a reading passage about the countryside when he or she has only seen chickens on television?

- Rigid organisation: Pupil guidance, which is often failure-based and irreversible, arouses a great deal of hostility. It is virtually impossible to move around between educational levels and branches. Permanent education, which would make it possible to resume training (whether general or in a specific field), has not materialised despite promises from many governments.

There is a distinct lack of remedial teaching arrangements (short-term support, guidance facilities, variety in teaching methods, learning in small groups), which are essential for children or young people experiencing short-term difficulties.

- Numbers: There are often too many pupils to a class. Teachers and pupils would be more receptive to one another if groups and classes were smaller and therefore contained fewer sources of restlessness and lack of concentration.

- Teacher training: Teacher training colleges still concentrate too much on the lessons teachers will have to give (methodology for teaching a subject) and too little on the people they will have to teach (how can one ignore the distress of a young woman appointed to teach teenagers at a technical college?).

Training courses offer no instruction on co-operation with families, techniques for holding meetings or relationships with adults (teachers from other sectors, administrative departments, social services and especially parents, who differ so widely).

.....

To complete the picture there is the weight of the hierarchy and the school itself, the staff turnover (in some schools the entire staff changes in the space of a few years), the constant criticism of schools from the media, politicians, etc, the dwindling budgetary resources available, the stress on teachers, the deterioration of their working conditions, and so on.

o

o o

Positive approaches

At all levels: start or resume a dialogue

Conditions for a dialogue with youth: It must be established from the outset that there can be no youth policy without young people. To think that anything at all can be done without them shows a profound ignorance of the problem and of young people's desire to participate, relate and be constructive.

- Talk to young people: Young people's language (the way they talk, but also the way they dress and behave) often seems provocative. It may simply be a code, rather than a sign of deliberate aggression or crudeness. Accepting their language also implies asking them to be receptive to ours, so that both sides can listen to one another without indulging in demagogy. Youth organisations also have ideas and should be consulted.

- Agree on a form of authority: Young people need an authority that they can recognise, and this need is greater than their demonstrations against authority. It is simply that the one offered to them seems meaningless. We must devise arrangements for settling conflicts or rules of community life without copying the old patterns, which have proved useless: truncheons and fire hoses on one side, paving stones and molotov cocktails on the other. They must be firmly rooted in real life (eg the management of a youth centre or a pre-vocational training workshop), otherwise they will remain unheeded.

- Build meeting places for the young and devise ways of running them that will give young people responsibilities and fulfil their aspirations, without making the places into ghettos for teenagers who have broken with their families or easy markets for drug pushers.

- Increase and diversify out-of-school activities: Open-air centres, out-of-school clubs, adventure playgrounds, supervised sports outings and so on (for younger children).

- Make mothers' working hours more flexible.

- Increase the supply of sports facilities and make them more accessible, emphasise cheap sports (eg athletics, cross-country skiing, basketball).

- Arrange holiday activities for those who do not go away (creative activity workshops, cheap holiday centres, participation in youth exchanges).

- Recognise youth culture (how can one ignore the Rolling Stones phenomenon for instance?) and make use of music, that fantastic common denominator shared by all young people, to help them become more active in the cultural field: place facilities at their disposal, set up music groups without putting strings on musical taste, make it easier to organise festivals, whether folk, pop or rock, instead of sheltering behind the excuse that they turn into drug parties.

- Employment and entry into working life: Organise training courses, not only in industrial firms but also in administrative departments, hospitals, social services, businesses and the like.

Facilitate access to culture by creating direct links with people active in cultural circles (musicians, actors, film directors).

Avoid letting young people lapse into inactivity once they have left school by setting up semi-educational vocational training centres.

Ask the main branches of the administration, firms, banks, businesses - in other words big management - to launch a "first job" campaign by reserving whatever number of jobs their budgets will bear (a grant system could also be set up) to young people who have just completed, or are undergoing training. Once these young people have settled into working life, the jobs would be available for new arrivals.

Tasks for the educational system

- Open up schools to life: Set them to train the citizens of the year 2000, who will undoubtedly change occupations several times in their lives. People must be able to adapt to new situations and start up again in a different direction. Their basic training will constantly need completing and improving. Their choice of occupation will not be final.

This entails:

- Further training as an established fact: Opportunities for changing direction when the wrong type of training has been chosen; opportunities to move around between technical and academic courses; linking up educational levels; doing away with the watertight separation between short and long-term training; arrangements for resuming studies or training at any age (there is nothing utopian about this: the Collège de Genève has just abolished the age limit so that anyone can prepare the secondary education certificate, be they say 17 or 40).

- Syllabuses with a direct bearing on real life: The situation can be improved without lowering standards. To be interested in what they learn, pupils need to feel that it has a practical link with their own experience. History, the mother tongue or mathematics can be taught in terms of the pupils' environment and current affairs. This is more difficult because current affairs are subject to interpretation, but easier because pupils experience them. Syllabuses must be flexible enough to enable pupils to choose from a variety of themes.

- Training for responsibility and co-operation: From the smallest classes upwards, children can be trained for community life, ie assuming responsibility, taking decisions and drawing up rules for living which must be respected. This type of training takes time: when a group of pupils is put in charge of organising a class printing workshop, writing and selling a newspaper, arranging a school party, managing a fund, mounting an exhibition or carrying out a survey, the work takes days and weeks which some people feel would be put to better use solving problems about trains meeting or taps running. There are choices to be made here. Children must be taught to deal with conflicts, accept differences (in race, language and intellectual or physical performance) and understand how democratic institutions actually work (eg following the ins and outs of a decision-making process at municipal level), ie human rights education in a practical setting.

- Train them to be critical, to decode a written or spoken message.

Offer facilities that pupils can fall back on in case of educational or personal difficulties (remedial teaching, ie working in smaller groups, with a variety of approaches and a more flexible rhythm, paying attention to psychological difficulties and providing skilled help).

- Reduce the number of pupils per class (no more than 20)

- Reduce the number of classes per building (20-25 in secondary education).

- Teacher training: Teacher training colleges will have to work very hard indeed to equip teachers to cope with changes in pupil and parent attitudes. They must train them to develop an outward-looking approach, to engage in clear-headed joint decision-making, and to chair meetings.

It is also essential that teachers learn more about child and adolescent psychology and acquire a sociological approach.

Schools can no longer function merely by lining up a number of adults. All the teachers in the same building must be able to co-operate and adopt a coherent - if not united - attitude towards the pupils. Teachers must be at least able to deal with conflicts if they are going to teach pupils to do likewise.

o

o o

Youth violence is a danger signal which must be heeded. The response must be practical action rather than prison sentences, and young people must be trained to build their future.

As the Africans say,"Don't give starving people fish, teach them to fish themselves".

But teaching people to fish takes time ...

Footnote:

The views and proposals set out above are based on observation of the youth demonstrations in Switzerland which took place at Zurich, Bern, Lausanne and Basle (it is no coincidence that there were none in Geneva), and on the relevant study carried out by the Federal Youth Commission at the Federal Council's request. Recommended reading: "Thèses concernant les manifestations de jeunes de 1980", (Theses on the 1980 Youth Demonstration) and "Dialogue avec la Jeunesse" (Dialogue with Youth), published in 1980 and 1981, which may be obtained from the Office Fédéral de la Culture, case postale 1000, Bern 6.

Besides my own experience as a teacher, I have drawn on the resolutions on preparation for life adopted by WCOTP, the World Confederation of Organisations of the Teaching Profession, in Morgues, and on those of IFTA, the International Federation of Teachers' Associations in Paris.

## 4.10. THE PROBLEM OF VIOLENCE IN A CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE

Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Schweitzer

1. What is meant in the context of this hearing by "Positive approaches"? I take it that the committee expected that non-governmental organisations, such as churches or youth organisations, are able and prepared to co-operate with others to promote a spirit of friendship especially among young people so that they may abstain from violence.

Much can be said in favour of such an expectation, especially with regard to Christian churches. As I am not competent to speak for other organisations, I will confine further arguments to the churches - or theologically to be more precise: to the Church, which implies that I will not take into account any confessional differences.

2. No doubt the central Christian message is a message of God's love towards man, the message of forgiveness and reconciliation. Love, forgiveness and reconciliation should be basic elements of Christian behaviour - and they are surely positive elements in opposition to any use of violence. But there are elements in the Christian tradition which do not fit simply into this aspect of the Christian doctrine.

3. Jesus of Nazareth did not use violence against the Romans who had occupied his homeland. His way ended at the cross, suffering unjust violence, exercised by political and religious authorities. Is readiness to suffer the proper Christian answer to violence? Again, this may be too simple. We cannot ignore that Jesus is reported to have used some violence, when he expelled those who bought and sold in the house of the Lord ...

4. The cross has been accepted as the sign of reconciliation between God and man, and between man and his fellow man as well. In a world full of hatred and violence, this is an important remedy which Christians should be prepared to offer at any time and under all circumstances.

5. The Church's admonition to exercise forgiveness and reconciliation implies a realistic anthropology. The Church recognises man's aptitude

- to confine natural love to his kinship, and at the same time
- to seclude himself from his neighbours and
- to distruct or even to hate strangers.

The extraordinary invitation to include even enemies into one's love is the most radical approach to replacing violence.

6. The Church is rightly expected to contribute positively to an education in the spirit of love and brotherhood between all men - Christian or non-Christian. The Church should, for example, promote communication between people of different nations, races or religions.

7. In the ecumenical movement the problem of violence and non-violence has, in the last 2 decades, continually been discussed in the context of the human quest for more justice and freedom. This implies reasoning about different social systems in which we live, and the recognition of the horrors of "structural violence" (power) in some societies today; it is a fertile ground for any "counter-violence"...

My contribution would be purely academic, if I were to neglect these aspects, even if they seem to be to some extent outside the immediate concerns of this committee.

8. (Semantic problem:) If a German speaks of violence, he cannot forget that the German term "Gewalt" denotes not only illegal violence, but also the legal force of state authorities, and that it includes even the power (or the right) of a nation to choose its own government. For us, it is impossible to separate entirely these different aspects. Thus, when we speak of the "violence" of terrorists, we have in our minds the force (violence) used by political and economic authorities and powers as well.

9. Perhaps we can agree to distinguish between at least 3 main categories of force or violence:

a. force used by legal authorities;

b. revolutionary force (violence);

c. violence as a sign of unhealthy social conditions - not (yet) aiming at revolutionary goals.

10. It is precisely the Christian "principle" of abstaining from all forms of violence which binds the Church not to draw too sharply the lines between different categories of violence. In addition, history has taught us that transitions from one category to the other have taken place more than once. Revolutionaries and even terrorists have become leading statesmen, and the dates of more than one revolution are now public holidays, such as 14 July in France. (Conservatives in European countries point, even today, mainly to the terrorism aspects of the French revolution; sometimes they seem to forget that it has opened the way to democracy and freedom at least on the Continent).

11. To recognise that the different categories of force (violence) are parts of a "sliding scale" (gleitende Skala), does not imply that they could morally be accepted on equal terms. The lessons which the Church had to learn in this respect, are perhaps of general significance.

12. From the time of the New Testament onward, the Church had to learn that man's inclination to violence and crime obliges it to support the right of the state to use force against criminals in order to protect peace and justice (Rom. 13). At the end of the Middle Ages, the Church began to support the idea that the state must have the monopoly of force (violence). Subsequently Max Weber called this "Gewaltmonopol des Staates").

13. Later, it became necessary to distinguish between violence (force) which may constitute new laws ("rechtssetzender Gewalt") and the state's power (force) to protect justice ("rechtserhaltende Gewalt"). This distinction implies that revolutions may fall under the first category if they are successful, but that from the moment of their success they turn into legal forces.

In the last 3 or 4 centuries, the Church had to learn to accept successful revolutions. But most churches rightly have been and are still today very reluctant to support revolutions before they are successful! In this sense, it is true, that churches are very often a conservative element in society. Some churches, however, have an old tradition of supporting the fight against tyranny (eg the Church of Scotland).

Perhaps the desirable general principle could be phrased: Any use of violence (including legal force by the state) can be justified only as long as it promotes and protects justice and peace. This implies that pure violence, as a sign of protest and nothing more, cannot be justified at all.

14. In the course of its history, the Church extended the right of the state to use force against criminals to the idea of a "just war" and the persecution of her adversaries within Christian territories (heretics) and outside (eg Muslims). After the time of the Reformation, in the Enlightenment, it became more and more clear that to criminalise adversaries was altogether ill-thought. When we mourn about the loss of "Christian principles and values" in modern times we should not forget the cruelties of the alliance between Church and state in the Middle Ages. At least when we reason about violence, we cannot overlook this. A romantic evaluation of the Middle Ages is incapable of supporting non-violent attitudes.

15. Ongoing changes in modern societies have forced us to consider states as dynamic entities which must be open to changes of rules and laws. Under the impact of revolutions, the state's monopoly to use force (violence) has been called into question. But this cannot justify terrorism as such. It rather leads to the question: How may constructive changes in society be promoted without using revolutionary force (violence)? To which the answer is democracy. And what norms may be developed for situations in which the use of force (violence) by state authorities must be challenged? One of the answers: The use of force should never exceed in proportion the crime to be defeated.

16. Democratic systems are meant to open ways for peaceful change in societies. Any educational system and any organisation which is unable to support democracy, is unable to promote non-violent changes. This in turn implies that it may (perhaps unconsciously) promote violence.

17. Paradoxically, to give way to freedom and democracy seems to open the door to violent actions as well as any anti-democratic attitude. Freedom can be used in irresponsible ways; eg some may "place profit above responsibility" (1). Confronted with abuses of freedom through the support of violence, through easy access to weapons and thus through violence itself, citizens are tempted to call for a "strong state". But it is precisely at this point that a German must warn his fellow Europeans! The only alternative to any totaliterian system is to accept the weakness of democracy as a means for really exercising freedom - and not to "protect" it by murdering it. Unfortunately, the idea of a "strong state" was welcomed by the Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany when in 1977 we were confronted with terrorism in a special way. We tend to forget that a strong state usually is unable to promote changes - and that it consequently leaves no other way than that of revolutional violence if social tensions become intolerable.

18. The basic Christian attitudes (love, forgiveness, reconciliation, readiness to suffering; see paragraphs 1-6 above) are misused if they are to serve a system which prevents peaceful changes in society by merely stabilising the existing order, for example, by supporting structural violence (above para 7). They are properly employed if they serve an order which is open for peaceful moves towards greater justice and freedom.

---

(1) See below, page 205

19. In our age, Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King were the best known champions of non-violent action for changes in society. Their non-violence involved actions which excluded the use of physical force against other persons; as soon as the term violence is widened to include passive resistance, strikes or the like, it would be misleading to describe their methods as entirely non-violent (John Galtung's definition of violence goes even further than that; German experts distinguish between "gewaltlos" and "gewaltfrei", but this distinction is somewhat arbitrary). Doubtless Gandhi and Martin Luther King did mobilise oppressed people to use their strength non-violently. I believe that their methods of "social defence" can be used only in a relatively democratic climate, not in a severe totalitarian system like Nazism; but training in such methods should in any case be supported.

20. The World Council of Churches' slogan to strive for a "just, participatory and sustainable society" suggests that participation in decision making should make the use of revolutionary violence superfluous. Tests which have been made along these lines (invitation of groups to participate for a limited time in decisions of their communities) are encouraging. Young people, in particular, should be invited to participate more and more in such processes. In this respect, the churches may have to learn rather than to teach ...

21. The right of every individual person to self-defence seems to include the right of states to use force (violence) against each other (doctrine of the just war). The terrible aspects of modern "warfare" together with the above-mentioned impossibility of criminalising the soldiers of a foreign army (paragraph 14) has made the doctrine of a just war more and more questionable, especially in the Church.

Young people, who in this situation accept the principle of non-violence, should be accepted by all governments - even at the risk that this will weaken their military forces (which in my view are still indispensable). It is illogical if parliaments or governments expect that culture and education should foster "positive approaches" to replace violence, and yet at the same time continue to punish conscientious objectors. Most churches have learned in our time that their message loses credibility if they do not defend conscientious objectors. Consequently they appeal to all people of good will to join in their support.

5. SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS SUBMITTED IN ASSISI BY OBSERVERS

## 5.1. IS PHOTOGRAPHY CAPABLE OF VIOLENCE?

Victor Coucke (Europhot)

Paul Claudel used to say that we have been given the means of making time stand still, transforming movement and the ephemeral into a durable, portable square, something available for ever after, the captured moment, a piece of evidence, and that we have focused an eye on duration and made it durable. This poet-diplomat who used to plunge into the depths of the definite in his search for the inexhaustible, no doubt realised very early on the dangers of our civilisation of images created by a non-selective invasion and ever-increasing quantities of visual documents.

Is the image becoming obsessive? Are Machiavellian media-men able to make use of images for the purposes of violence? Does the photographer who captures the moment a murder is committed become an extension of the murderer? Perhaps because, as is often said, photography sees everything and can therefore say everything, prove everything and magnify everything. Or because - something which is not always added - photography can also lie, and is therefore able to show the murderer as an angel.

These questions are so many ways of saying that right from the outset photography has been able to change, and indeed has changed, our vision of objects and people. The photographer who captures the moment a murder is committed is able to change our vision of violence. He is able to become either the murderer's accomplice or his prime accuser, as well as a procurer of non-resistance. It all depends on the photographer's own opinion.

And since today we experience our world mainly by looking at our environment and distant events through someone else's eyes - we call this the media - our reactions to the happy events, and particularly to the unhappy events, taking place around us will depend to an enormous extent on the vision and even more on the morality of all those who act as the media's eye.

We feel that this hearing is the ideal place to say that, as regards visual communication, our society is still influenced by the effects and results of the sixth Council of Constantinople, which likened the respect of images to that owed by the faithful to the Gospel. No less a person than St. Thomas Aquinas made a brief, but clear and comprehensive statement on this delicate point of doctrine. He said that there were three reasons for adopting images:

- firstly, to instruct the ignorant;
- secondly, the better to recall the exemplary moments of life by having them before our eyes every day;
- thirdly, to feed the senses, since objects seen by the eye excite our senses more profoundly than that which we hear.

Today we can add and scientifically prove that the optic nerve is an extension of the brain. Perception of an image is immediate and all-embracing, whereas other means of communication take time; it is at the moment a sensation is perceived intellectually that it becomes a perception.

Discussion of violence and the media means above all discussion of a moral sense, intellectual qualities and the ethics of the media's professionals.

Lewis W. Hine used to say that there were two things he wanted to do - to show the things which ought to be changed and to show the things which ought to be appreciated.

As early as 1908 he was photographing children working in factories and down mines, thereby creating one of the most eloquent pleas against the employment of children - indeed a different kind of violence which was at the root of other forms of violence.

With the documentaries made in 1933 by Hine and Walker Evans for the Farm Security Administration, Roy Stryker, a young economist at Columbia University, became a classic example of someone using visual communication as an effective means of accusation, and as a way of forcing those responsible to change certain things which were horrible and objectionable.

The question we should ask is not whether the photographer should show violence or not. The professional photographer must show reality, and reality is indeed often violent. Yet professional ethics demand that the photographer show such violence in a responsible way. The real question we should be asking is therefore "What are we doing to provide and motivate the creator of images with healthy sensitivity and morality?". The photographer's greatest duty should be to accuse, to show violence in such a way as to make us all blush, to make us all feel guilty, so that we feel moved to accept our responsibilities with the aim of changing it all.

For us, as professional photographers, participation in this hearing on violence is very important. Not because we have any pretensions of coming here with radical solutions for reducing violence, but because it gives us an opportunity to remind you that nowadays it has become impossible to understand cultural and social events and changes without an understanding of the profound way in which the media - and therefore for us visual communication - shape our environment and our way of thinking, acting, reacting and considering.

We would also like to mention something Marshall McLuhan wrote - all media are extensions of one physical or psychic ability of mankind. For our part, we have no desire to waste your time with pious wishes. Let us not for a moment expect better behaviour from the people who have up to now reproduced, and hence extended and amplified violence with their images, either on paper or on the screen, with the sole aim of disturbing and shocking a public which has had no training in putting connotations on such images or to judge their myth-creating effects. Roland Barthes said that the myth-creating effect of a photograph was inversely proportionate to its traumatic effect.

We are pleased to be able to have this opportunity to tell you that we are convinced that our fight against violence should include initiatives aimed at providing, at an international level, complementary vocational training of a pacifist and humanitarian nature to those who will be tomorrow's professionals in visual communication, those who will be our third eye tomorrow, or if you prefer - without having the characteristics described in the Odyssey - the eye of Cyclops of our age.

René Huyghe wrote that passive acceptance of the injunctions of one's era and even exaggeration of them involved fickleness and slackness; trying to ignore them or systematically denying them was nothing short of stupidity. We therefore feel it our duty, in fighting against violence, to train professionals who will be neither fickle nor slack, nor stupid. We want to train professionals who will be capable of using visual communication, by means of the content of the images they present to the public, to fight against violence. The image conditions the public, and it is because of its psychoanalytical content rather than its reflection of reality that the image conditions, shapes or misshapes the individual and the masses.

Thus a considerable effort still has to be made to develop education of the vision of the public at large. Photographs of the same war and the same horrors shown to the public are used without distinciton by the two sides involved to prove opposite ideologies, the images being "irrefutable". For years now we have all seen the multiplication of the publication of pictures of tragic deaths. Whether because of our love of death or our aversion to it, "blood" always sells a copy, and it should not surprise us that some journalists profit from the situation, since this is nothing new. We prefer not to act as Don Quixote. So long as violence exists, pictures in newspapers, magazines and on television will continue to make sure that violence is permanently present in our homes.

And immediately after the photo of a dead body, the beslippered viewer in his armchair is confronted with the picture of a beautiful female body promoting sun-tan lotion. And this extraordinary juxtaposition obviously muddles the viewer's thinking and blurs his reactions. Nevertheless, as free people the public must retain the right to see <u>everything</u> it wants to see. Our duty is therefore to show the public <u>everything</u> that is going on in the world. And that is where the great responsibility of professionals in visual communications begins: the images must not become "totalitarian". Visual communication should also, and indeed most frequently, be used to demonstrate the positive, peaceful events which also take place, thereby proving to the public that happiness still exists.

Why is the positive side of our society not shown more often these days? The unworthy professional will reply: because the public demands to see violence and blood.

We say that it is because it takes a better professional to pack a punch in showing positive things rather than negative things. It is up to us to shape the public, and not up to the public to misshape us. The choice is a difficult one only for those who are unable to show material images without moral values.

It would perhaps be a good idea to motivate visual communicators by creating here in this city a prize for anti-violence photography. We are sure that if a certain St. Francis had been able to have a camera available he would have put it to good use! With a prize of this kind photography, which so often prolongs violence, would contribute to the fight against violence.

We would be very pleased if it did so.

## 5.2. NOTE ON VIOLENCE AND THE SCHOOL

André Prubay (ETPESO)

1. Of the many causes contributing to the growth of violence, there are some that apply particularly to young people:

- contradiction between the allurements of advertising, provocative shop-window displays and the examples of extravagant spending set by adults (all this being propagated by the media), and their own lack of resources (either due to the raising of the school-leaving age, which, in most European countries, prevents them from having a gainful occupation before they are 16, or, after that age, due to unemployment);

- need to "explode" in a burst of activity despite the lack of prospects;

- decreasing emotional support from the family and from groups of adults who pay too little attention to the fate of individuals;

- identity crisis among the children of immigrants, especially in the second generation;

- increase in the proportion of young people in the population as a whole;

- far-reaching changes in society and technology.

2. The growth of violence in society is reflected in school, especially as school itself arouses resentment in a great many pupils because of underachievement, unsuitable premises and lack of consultation.

3. The violence seen in school today, especially at secondary level, is a far cry from the classroom horseplay of a few decades ago, in which those who were destined to form society's élite made a show of non-conformism. Now secondary school is open to all sections of the population and the violence is of a different nature: vandalism, physical assault and intimidation, and trafficking of various kinds. These manifestations are no doubt less common than the media, with their sensational reports, would have us believe, but there is definitely an undercurrent of tension in many schools.

4. The schools affected by this violence are found not only in the districts where the most disadvantaged social classes live, but also in well-to-do neighbourhoods.

The violence comes from people outside the school (gangs of youths, whose members are often school drop-outs; attacks on school staff by the parents or brothers of pupils who have been reprimanded) as well as from those inside it.

5. School alone cannot be expected to remedy this state of affairs as too many causes of violence have their origins outside school.

Nevertheless, it can help in the following ways:

- not a great deal by making fine speeches;

- certainly not by using more repressive methods;

- by intensifying measures to reduce socio-cultural inequalities and to extricate 16- to 18-year-olds from the dead ends into which they have been led;

- by developing democracy in school and by giving training in responsibility;

- by improving the school environment with the participation of pupils, other members of the school community and the local authorities;

- by launching educational schemes enabling young people to show initiative and demonstrate their capabilities;

- by allocating sufficient staff to every school;

- by intitiating cooperation between all the school's educators, so that none of them is left to face a critical situation alone;

- by training teachers (pre- and in-service) to cope with such situations, to be familiar with the methods used in special education and to take keen interest in changes in society and the school population.

## 5.3. CONTRIBUTION OF THE HOLY SEE

In the teaching of the Catholic Church, which is always based on the evangelical command of love of neighbour, there is much that can be learned about the theme of violence.

Perhaps the best way to grasp the central core of this teaching is by reference to some of the more recent discourses of Pope John Paul II on this topic. Three of these discourses should be helpful for the information and documentation of the participants at the meeting to be held in Assisi.

1. The first text is taken from the discourse of the Holy Father at Drogheda during his pastoral visit to Ireland on 29 September 1979. In this message, John Paul II affirms that, for the Christian, the struggle for justice is legitimate but it cannot be a struggle based on hatred and violence. After pointing to justice as the basic foundation of peace, the Pope goes on to say that peace cannot be established in a climate of terror, intimidation and death. The Pope makes a passionate appeal to banish violence which he calls a *"crime against humanity"* and in so doing, he underlines the necessity of reconciliation. In a special way he addresses himself to youth inviting those who have been caught in the web of violence to return to Christ, the one source of authentic peace. Finally, he refers to the Irish situation to illustrate the dangers of violence and to urge political leaders to bring about peace through justice.

> *"But Christianity does not command us to close our eyes to difficult human problems.* It does not permit us to neglect and refuse to see unjust social or international situations. What Christianity does forbid is to seek solutions to these situations by the ways of hatred, by the murdering of defenceless people, by the methods of terrorism. Let me say more: Christianity understands and recognizes the noble and just struggle for justice; but Christianity is decisively opposed to fomenting hatred and to promoting or provoking violence or struggle for the sake of 'struggle'. The command, 'Thou shalt not kill', must be binding on the conscience of humanity, if the terrible tragedy and destiny of Cain is not to be repeated."
>
> "Never before in the history of mankind has peace been so much talked about and so ardently desired as in our day. The growing interdependence of peoples and nations makes almost everyone subscribe – at least in principle – to the ideal of universal human brotherhood. Great international institutions debate humanity's peaceful coexistence. Public opinion is growing in consciousness of the absurdity of war as a means to resolve differences. More and more, peace is seen as a necessary condition for fraternal relations among nations, and among peoples. Peace is more and more clearly seen as the only way to justice; peace is itself the work of justice. And yet, again and again, one can see how peace is undermined and destroyed. Why is it then that our convictions do not always match our behaviour and our attitudes? Why is it that we do not seem to be able to banish all conflicts from our lives?
> Peace is the result of many converging attitudes and realities; it is the product of moral concerns of ethical principles based on the Gospel message and fortified by it.
> I want to mention here in the first place: justice. In his Message for the 1971 Day of Peace, my revered Predecessor, that Pilgrim for peace, Paul VI said: 'True peace must be founded upon justice, upon a sense of the untouchable dignity of man, upon the recognition of an indelible and happy equality between men, upon the basic principle of human brotherhood, that is, of the respect and love due to each man, because he is man.' This same message I affirmed in Mexico and in Poland. I reaffirm it here in Ireland. Every

human being has inalienable rights that must be respected. Each human community – ethnic, historical, cultural or religious – has rights which must be respected. Peace is threatened every time one of these rights is violated. The moral law, guardian of human rights, protector of the dignity of man, cannot be set aside by any person or group, or by the State itself, for any cause, not even for security or in the interests of law and order. The law of God stands in judgment over all reasons of State. As long as injustices exist in any of the areas that touch upon the dignity of the human person, be it in the political, social or economic field, be it in the cultural or religious sphere, true peace will not exist. The causes of inequalities must be identified through a courageous and objective evaluation, and they must be eliminated so that every person can develop and grow in the full measure of his or her humanity.

Secondly, peace cannot be established by violence, peace can never flourish in a climate of terror, intimidation and death. It is Jesus himself who said: 'All who take the sword will perish by the sword' (Mt 26: 52). This is the word of God, and it commands this generation of violent men to desist from hatred and violence and to repent.

I join my voice today to the voice of Paul VI and my other predecessors, to the voices of your religious leaders, to the voices of all men and women of reason, and I proclaim, with the conviction of my faith in Christ and with an awareness of my mission, that violence is evil, that violence is unacceptable as a solution to problems, that violence is unworthy of man. Violence is a lie, for it goes against the truth of our faith, the truth of our humanity. Violence destroys what it claims to defend: the dignity, the life, the freedom of human beings. Violence is a crime against humanity, for it destroys the very fabric of society. I pray with you that the moral sense and Christian conviction of Irish men and women may never become obscured and blunted by the lie of violence, that nobody may ever call murder by any other name than murder, that the spiral of violence may never be given the distinction of unavoidable logic or necessary retaliation. Let us remember that the word remains for ever: 'All who take the sword will perish by the sword.' "

"To all of you who are listening I say: do not believe in violence; do not support violence. It is not the Christian way. It is not the way of the Catholic Church. Believe in peace and forgiveness and love, for they are of Christ."

"Now I wish to speak to all men and women engaged in violence. I appeal to you, in language of passionate pleading. On my knees I beg you to turn away from the paths of violence and to return to the ways of peace. You may claim to seek justice. I too believe in justice and seek justice. But violence only delays the day of justice. Violence destroys the work of justice. Further violence in Ireland will only drag down to ruin the land you claim to love and the values you claim to cherish. In the name of God I beg you: return to Christ, who died so that men might live in forgiveness and peace. He is waiting for you, longing for each one of you to come to him so that he may say to each of you: your sins are forgiven; go in peace.

I appeal to young people who may have become caught up in organizations engaged in violence. I say to you, with all the love I have for you, with all the trust I have in young people: do not listen to voices which speak the language of hatred, revenge, retaliation. Do not follow any leaders who train you in the ways of inflicting death. Love life, respect life; in yourselves and in others. Give yourselves to the service of life, not the work of death. Do not think that courage and strength are proved by killing and destruction. The true courage lies in working for peace. The true strength lies in joining with the young men and women of your generation everywhere in building up a just and human and Christian society by the ways of peace. Violence is the enemy of justice. Only peace can lead the way to true justice."

"To all who bear political responsibility for the affairs of Ireland, I want to speak with the same urgency and intensity with which I have spoken to the men of violence. Do not cause or condone or tolerate conditions which give excuse or pretext to men of violence. Those who resort to violence always claim that only violence brings about change. They claim that political action cannot achieve justice. You politicians must prove them to be wrong. You must show that there is a peaceful, political way to justice. You must show that peace achieves the works of justice, and violence does not.

I urge you who are called to the noble vocation of politics to have the courage to face up to your responsibility, to be leaders in the cause of peace, reconciliation and justice. If politicians do not decide and act for just change, then the field is left open to the men of violence. Violence thrives best when there is political vacuum and a refusal of political movement. Paul VI, writing to Cardinal Conway in March 1972, said: 'Eve *yone* must play his part. Obstacles which stand in the way of justice must be removed: obstacles such as civil inequity, social and political discrimination, and misunderstanding between individuals and groups. There must be a mutual and abiding respect for others: for their persons, their rights and their lawful aspirations.' I make these words of my revered predecessor my own today."

(*L'Osservatore Romano*, 1-2 October 1979)

2. The second text is that which was addressed to the National Meeting of the Union of Italian Catholic Jurists on 6 December 1980. The Holy Father picked up the theme of that meeting, "Violence and Law", to point out the essential contribution of the legal world toward the elimination of an ideology of violence. After having distinguished between force and violence, John Paul II emphasizes the antithesis between violence and law by affirming that violence is a violation of the order of justice which must hold sway in the human community.

"A first step, preliminary but indispensable, can be said to be generally accepted: the precise *distinction between force and violence*. Indeed in spite of the same lexical root (*vis, hybris*) and the physical identity of the activity (individual and collective force), it has been stated precisely that force is not only a means or essential instrument for positive law, but also that, when it is organized and exercised in an orderly way for the purposes of law, it is no longer mere physical force, but also and above all *justice in the concrete*. That holds good not only for public force but also for private force, in the case of legitimate defence. Force is, therefore, a clearly distinct reality as compared with violence. And we would like to add a truth that is even more ennobling than force rightly used. The individual who prevents by force an unfortunate person from committing suicide, does not exercise violence on him, but carries out a work of *charity*."

"The second and decisive step is that which leads in the first place to affirming the radical antithesis between violence and law, and then to construct on this very antithesis a valid universal definition of violence. It is necessary to distinguish these two phases of the investigation: as regards the first, we find among historians of law, students of philosophy and of general history and among scholars of the various branches of the juridical system, a widespread general intuition, and one would say also a deep conviction; as regards the second, the diversity of criteria proposed so far to distinguish force from violence, relying on the idea of law, not only reveals the inadequacy of each of them, but also their connection with the personal conception of law, in general held by their proposer."

"Violence, perhaps even etymologically, appears as a *violation*. Violation, it has been said, of individual human values either seen in themselves or as protected by positive law. But the first criterion is essentially a moral one, and it does not seem to permit a general definition of universal validity. The second (known as the *institutional* one) is the specific criterion of penal law; but, generally speaking, it comes up against the difficulty, impossible to eliminate, that while in the changing societies of today it is precisely the institutions, or positive law, that are challenged everywhere, ancient, modern and even contemporary history shows us despotic, totalitarian and inhuman regimes, whose laws, although according to sound philosophy they should rather be called 'monstra legum' than 'leges', are, however, formally positive laws and institutions.

With a happier intuition of substantial truth, jurists and moralists, especially Catholic ones, have had recourse to the supreme value of associated life: the dignity of the human person. Apart from the fact, however, that this value considered in and for itself, that is, in mere abstraction, is not without ambiguity today (so much so that it is invoked to justify even the most unquestionable violence of revolutions and guerrilla wars), it cannot be said that any violence forbidden by laws to obtain respect for an exclusively positive order (consider, for instance, processual law) constitutes specifically a violation of the dignity of the human person. Let it be added that this dignity has different historical contents in the different historical contexts.

The truth is that in the general definition of violence, it is not possible to prescind from the idea of law, as that concrete system in which human values, including the supreme one, are ordered among themselves and with regard to the common end of the subjects. The true concept of law, the fundamental concept of all law, is that of an 'order of justice among men'. The first, most radical, even though embryonic, order of justice among men is natural law, which makes the human person the first foundation and the ultimate end of all human life associated politically. That law from which the various positive systems spring, in the variety and changeability of historical situations. That law which, before and even more than the police, ensures these systems their ethical validity, their continual perfectibility, and their growing communicability with regard to vaster and vaster civilizations up to the universal one. Well, violence in general cannot be defined otherwise than as the violation of such an order of justice."

(*L'Osservatore Romano*, English edition, 26 January 1981)

3. The third contribution to this reflection is a portion of a message the Holy Father sent to the International Congress organized by the World Christian Democratic Union which met to discuss the topic: "Terrorism, Political Violence and the Defence of Democracy and Human Rights" (Rome, 18 - 19 February 1982).

In this message the Pope raises the question of the causes that lead some people to turn to the senseless method of terrorism and does this by reference to the international dimension of the phenomenon. John Paul II insists with vigour that terrorism is never justifiable in civilized society, for violence breeds violence. In response to this evil, the Holy Father urges that there be an increase on the international level of solidarity among states while, on the national level, he looks for the development of a climate of greater justice and honesty which will seek out the necessary remedies that can be produced by a clear analysis of the causes of terrorism.

"... I am thinking of the subject that is of such present-day importance and which is being discussed at the international conference that brings you together during this period: 'Terrorism, political violence and the defence of democracy and human rights'.

Indeed we all feel in a particularly acute way this need for responsibility in the face of the irrational phenomenon of terrorism within the state and outside state boundaries. Terrorism is the antithesis of all that you attempt to promote in your role as democrats and Christians. Terrorism is opposed to the law and to reason. Terrorism aims at mutilating and destroying persons and society by means of acts which are fundamentally acts of violation: violation of human values guaranteed by the law itself, and also violation of the dignity of human lives. (See my speech to the Union of Italian Catholic Lawyers, 6 December 1980.)"

"But first of all what is it that gives the terrorism of today its widespread nature, its impact, its hazardous and troubling character? Analytical studies of the phenomenon certainly are not lacking, and I am unable to deal with them satisfactorily here.

To begin with, everyone is aware that terrorists today have access to formidable arms which they procure too easily. This facilitates their work of destruction but does not suffice to explain the roots of the phenomenon or its intensity.

There is above all the fact that terrorism has been able to become an efficient psychological weapon, thanks to the worldwide repercussions gained from the mass media who take it upon themselves to publicize the event.

But at a deeper level we have still to explain why human beings such as ourselves resort to these lamentable methods. The urge to violence has always slumbered in the heart of man, along with the urge for peace, for love; there is no doubt that it is the first of these that is most stimulated today. Is it the recrudescence of injustices or an awareness of them that provokes such violent reactions? But how can the cause invoked justify the means? There is above all the ever-accelerating spread of violent ideologies, of hate-filled struggle, which deform the conscience to the point of depriving of all scruples those who command or commit these barbarous acts; nay, which lead them to justify them, to glory in them as if they were a duty or a noble action. Evil lies deep in the thought and in the heart of man.
Finally there is the complicity of a whole international network of terrorists. Some invoke the justice of a cause which could not make itself heard through peaceful means, or the rights of peoples which have been seriously breached in the past or are being so at the present moment, and they take as their target symbolic figures or institutions, often outside their own country. Others desire frankly to create panic and to destroy the foundations of society in their country which they consider decadent or unjust, but without any regard for established democratic institutions and not in any constructive spirit."

"After this brief analysis of the roots, causes or pretexts it is time to come to an ethical evaluation of terrorist behaviour.
Whatever the roots of terrorist action may be, whatever the attempts to justify it, we can only repeat once again and always: *terrorism is never justified* in a civilized society. It is a sophisticated relapse into savagery, anarchy. It is always an expression of hate, of ideological confusion, with the aim of sowing uncertainty and fear in national and international life (see my speech to the Roman Curia, 22 December 1981, n. 12). It wishes to justify its ends, and at times poor ends, by means unworthy of man. It attacks property and a valuable patrimony without any regard for the rights that people or society legitimately have to them. Above all, and this cannot be accepted under any pretext, it attacks *in a cowardly way* in the form of kidnapping, torture or murder, liberty and *the human life of defenceless people* who have nothing to do with the cause in question and who are simply a symbol of a responsibility or a power that they oppose."

"Violence breeds only violence. In the last resort terrorism will destroy itself, for in its blind irrational hate it carries the seeds of its own destruction. In the meantime we must accelerate its downfall and the conversion of its adherents, by the joint efforts of all of us, each at his own level of responsibility."

"It is not enough to take note of what occurs and to deplore it. We must take up the challenge. *We must act*, act effectively. We must find a remedy suitable for this evil that undermines our societies, and this we must do at several levels.
At an *international level* we must further the progress of collaboration between states with the aim of unmasking, denouncing, condemning and penalizing every act of terrorism, whatever justifications are invoked. It is a savage, inhuman means which must be utterly outlawed. And such States as encourage this means and become the accomplices of those who instigate it, disqualify themselves as spokesmen for justice in the eyes of the world.
*At the level of each society* we should also find remedies that correspond to a lucid analysis of the causes of terrorism. Certainly, now more than ever with the help of laws, decrees, appropriate security measures, which lie partly within the ambit of your responsibilities, we should protect the life and rights of innocent individuals, as well as the legitimate rights of democratic institutions, and so block and put out of harm's reach those who have chosen not to respect them. But while remaining fully aware of the subversion that comes from abroad, one should at the same time ask why terrorism continues to recruit so many adherents amongst men and women of the present generation. Everything should be done to draw attention to rights that may have been breached, to establish or re-establish equitable relations between the different participants in our society, to provide an honest service at every level, and especially where power is held by those who have taken it upon themselves to assume or retain political responsibility. In this way we can deprive the terrorists of the reasons they put forward in order to involve certain sympathizers.

At the same time, while still maintaining a healthy freedom of opinion, a climate should be created in which educators, teachers, publicists cease to stir up hate, cease to present violence as a remedy, to be contemptuous of the rights of others, to let it be thought that only a radical destruction of this society can allow us to rediscover one that is more human. Are not today's terrorists partly products of a certain education? We should form teachers who day by day, in a peaceful manner and with true responsibility, learn to build a more just society.

Yes, finally, the best response to political violence is always and in every case a type of society where the laws are just, where the government does all it can to meet the legitimate needs of the people and where the citizens can, in peace and security, live together and create their own future and that of their fellow men."

(*L'Osservatore Romano*, English edition, 29 March 1982)

5.4. SUBMISSION BY THE
U.S. NATIONAL COALITION ON TELEVISION VIOLENCE
Thomas Radecki

Our research has found that levels on American TV and movie violence have reached all-time highs in their intensity and frequencies. Violence in comic-books is extremely common. Violence in videogames also dominates the themes for this entertainment form.

At the same time we have now found over 750 studies showing overwhelmingly the harmful effects this use of violence to entertain is having on both child and adult viewers. This research comes from 16 different countries documenting major harmful effects in countries like England, Finland, Belgium, Poland, and Germany, as well as many others. Few countries restrict violence and the few that do, do so, in our opinion, inadequately. No country has a major amount of counteradvertising, warning of the harmful effects of this entertainment. Few countries, if any, make it clear that the research is conclusive that adults as well as children are seriously harmed by this type of entertainment. No country in the Western world has come anywhere close to stemming the flood of this emphasis on violence.

We are embarking on the monitoring of TV violence this Fall in Germany, England, Japan, Australia, Canada, France and, of course, continuing our U.S. efforts. We have found the violence in the U.S. product by far containing the most violence. Also because of the tremendous export of this product to Europe and throughout the world, we are very concerned of the harm it is causing.

NCTV has been very disappointed by the lack of any action whatsoever by the U.S. Congress. We are even having hearings cancelled because of the powerfulness of our case. We hope that Europe will be more responsive to our concerns.

We suggest (1) that all countries become more strict in the rating of violent movies; (2) that violence so intense that it is restricted to adult viewing, be restricted to showing only in movie theatres and not allowed to be shown on TV or sold on videotape; (3) that all advertisements for movies containing entertainment violence which does not serve an educational function be required to carry a warning noting that research clearly shows that entertainment violence causes major harm to children and adult viewers; (4) that one advertisement warning of the harm of entertainment violence be required for every advertisement promoting violent programming.

We also recommend (5) that violent toys be banned and certainly not advertised. This includes war toys, toy guns, "Star Wars" and other similar toys etc. (6) We recommend that commercial TV be not allowed to spread, but rather that non-commercial TV be increased in number of channels, including cable TV. Any commercial or pay TV should be very carefully controlled so as not to allow entertainment with a violent content without redeeming educational features. (7) We recommend the banning of high violence comic-books which dominate the American market and are often promoted in parts of Europe. (8) We recommend strict action against violent pornography in written as well as pictorial form.

NCTV has members in Germany, France, England, Sweden and Norway. We express the concern of our European members to you. I myself am a practising physician and psychiatrist. I see the harmful effects of TV and movie violence every week in my practice. I hope and pray that you will take this issue with all the seriousness which it is due.

1.PRESS RELEASE : Congress hears that TV and movie violence may cause 25-50% of real life violence (NCTV, October 1981)

The first congressional hearings on television violence since 1977 were conducted on 21 October, 1981, by the House Sub-committee on Telecommunications, Consumer Protection. Rep. Timothy Wirth (D-Colo.) chaired the discussions. At the beginning of the hearings he noted that "Long discussions have occurred in this committee on this issue and the situation has'nt gotten any better."

The strongest testimony came from Dr. Thomas Radecki, M.D., psychiatrist from Southern Illinois University School of Medicine, and Chairman of the National Coalition on Television violence. Dr. Radecki referred to over 700 studies and reports on the issue of television violence covering over 100,000 people. He stated that this research shows that, with all of the various causes of real-life violence, television is very likely to be the number one cause. He stated that after a careful review of the literature, he estimates that television and film violence is probably responsible for from 25 to 50% of all real-life violence in our society. He pointed to research showing that adults are as strongly affected as children.

Dr. Radecki called for immediate government actions which he noted were compatible with the first amendment. He called for the elimination of ads from PBS and the establishment of a second public network as in England. He suggested that the 75 million dollars worth of non violent cartoons produced in the 1970's with public money be made available to commercial TV at reasonable rates for regular viewing.

Dr Radecki called for a public movie rating system that takes violence into account and that is enforced. He also said that Congress should stop trying to pass a law to forbid municipal governments from having influence over the content and cost of cable television.

Ted Turner, owner of Cable News Network, expressed great concern about the massive amounts of entertainment violence on our television. "Only our government can save us from this devastating plague. Let's not commit national suicide." He stated, "I agree almost 100% with Dr. Radecki's testimony." He blamed the networks for the current situation and stated, "Movies are just as responsible. Pay Cable now puts these high violence movies in the home and has no standards whatsoever."

Rep. Ron Motti stated, "He who turns off violence on his own TV set may still become its victim due to the actions of another who did not." Rep. Edward Markey (D-Mass.) referred to Dr. Radecki's testimony showing that 24 out of 25 scientific studies have found that Saturday morning cartoon violence causes an increase in violence for children viewers. He noted that testimony also pointed out that "law and order" violence apparently being promoted this Fall by the networks, is actually more likely to be effective at getting viewers to accept and use violence in their own lives compared to other types of programmes. Network representatives, in response, disagreed with this testimony and said that their current programming is responsible.

Dr George Gerbner, PhD., of the University of Pennsylvania, released research findings that showed a 50% jump in Saturday morning violence since 1980. He stated that this 25-violent-acts-per-hour level was the highest that his monitors have found since they began keeping records 14 years ago.

Rep. Billy Tauzin (D-La.) reported to the hearing last week his three-year-old son saw a Popeye cartoon, in which Bluto put his fist through a glass door. He stated that shortly after seeing this his son went and punched his way through their own glass door and almost bled to death.

Dr. Davis Pearl, PhD., reported for the National Institute of Mental Health. He said of the expert committee reviewing the television violence issue, "We have come to a unanimous conclusion that there is a causal relationship between television violence and real-life violence."

Statement by Dr. Thomas Radecki, M.D., Chairman of the NCTV, to the U.S. House of Representatives Sub-committee on Telecommunications, Consumer Protection, and Finance Hearings on "Social Behavioral Effects of Violence on Television", October 21, 1981

Our nation is suffering from a violence epidemic that is worse than at any time in recorded American history. Since 1957, rates of murder, rape, assault, robbery, and burglary have soared--increasing from 300-600% depending on the category. In spite of this tremendous increase, new records of violence continue to be set almost every year.

In Central Illinois, where I practice psychiatry, we have seen two dismemberments and three axe murders in the last year alone. In Decatur, where I live, there has been a bank president pay to have his girlfriend assassinated and a union leader's wife pay to have her husband murdered. I find surprisingly high levels of marital and family violence in my practice even in middle and upper class households. The most rapidly growing causes of death in the past two decades in our country have been from homicide, suicide, and alcohol abuse.

There are specific reasons for this violence epidemic. It is clear that there are multiple causes but that the exact percentages of causation of each are not known. Certainly, the large increases in alcohol consumption since the 1950's plays an important role. Increases in drug abuse have caused a smaller proportion of this increase both due to the violent climate that surrounds the trafficking in and purchasing of illegal substances. Family breakdown plays a role as may the less than ideal functioning of other social institutions.

However, research shows that the most likely, number one cause of this increase in violence is the massive amounts of violent entertainment being sold to the American public. Television is the number one news, advertising, and socializing influence in our society. Americans will see many times more violence on TV than from all other sources combined. I can comfortably estimate that 25-50% of the violence in our society is coming from the culture of violence being taught by our entertainment media, most strongly by the television and movie industries. This estimate is based on solid research findings.

For instance, Dr. William Belson of the London School of Economics completed a $300,000 study, funded by CBS, of 1600 London adolescents. He looked at 227 possible causes of violence in their lives. He found that the amounts of TV violence consumed accounted for at least 12% of the variance in the amount of violence committed. He also found that film and comic book violence were responsible for violence to lesser degrees.

Dr. Leonard Eron and Dr. Monroe Lefkowitz of the University of Illinois Department of Psychology completed their 10-year follow-up study of American adolescents and found a similar percentage of the effect coming from the amount of TV violence seen. A cause-effect relationship was clearly demonstrated.

Yet, both of these studies are certain to underestimate the influence of TV violence seen since exact records of each program viewed were not possible. Studies of shorter duration where the actual programs seen were able to be controlled, find greater effects.

A study of middle-class adult males completed by Dr. Roderick Corney of UCLA found a 37% decrease in hurtful behavior around the home during a single week when violent programing was eliminated from the viewing diet. In 67 studies reviewed by Dr. Scott Andison in 1976, more than 3/4ths of them found increased violence or aggression due to violent programs. The average effect in these studies was a 25% higher level of violent or aggressive behavior.

Dr. J. Bryant of the University of Massachusetts recently found very large increases in everyday anxiety in college students who were assigned to watch violent TV programs over a six-week period. Other studies point to increases in depression, dishonesty, cheating, willingness to rape, desire to punish, etc.

Even these studies necessarily underestimate the impact of entertainment violence. This is because many indirect effects of TV violence are certain to add to the final outcome. For instance, several dozen studies on adults find that they are just as strongly affected by television violence as children. Other family research shows that children learn a significant proportion of their violent habits from their parents. Thus, TV increases the angry and hurtful behavior of American parents in a major way and, thereby, indirectly teaches violence to children through yet another avenue.

Other indirect effects include TV's teaching of violence to one's peers who in turn teach violence to the person in question. TV almost certainly teaches even our teachers to use more violence in resolving school problems, judges in handling court cases, and even leaders in handling international conflicts. It teaches such a tolerance for violence that we are allowing increasingly horrendous amounts in our homes, schools, and society without taking real action to eliminate its source.

In all, NCTV has found over 700 scientific studies and reports covering over 100,000 people, mostly done in the United States but also covering 16 foreign countries, as well. These studies show an overwhelming agreement that TV and media violence is having a serious and harmful effect on society. This research shows that all social classes, ethnic backgrounds, age groups, both sexes, and various educational backgrounds are adversely affected by the huge quantities of entertainment violence sold to us.

This research means that the United States television and movie industries are also the largest promoters of violence world-wide, since by far the largest amounts of violence seen in European democracies, Arab states, or even in iron curtain countries like Poland are produced here in America. Rates of violence have increased in almost every free country in the past 10-20 years. This is the first world-wide epidemic of violence in history. It is certain that the heavy world-wide distribution of American film and TV violence plays an important role in this increase.

Additional Research Notes

Many people continue to think that cartoons, the most violent hours on television, are not harmful. This is perhaps due to desensitization and to the confusion that "kid stuff" is nothing to worry about. However, NCTV has located 25 separate studies on cartoon violence. Of these, 24 of the studies show clear trends or proven significant effects that this programing increases aggression and violence in children viewers.

There is a myth that only a small percentage of viewers are affected. In study after study, this has been disproven. It is clear that, especially when the massive amounts consumed are considered, the majority of all viewers are adversely influenced. This myth exists due to desensitization, a lack of knowledge of available information, and to the massive promotion of violence through advertising. Indeed, I would go so far as to say that probably no one who sees the large amounts of TV violence typical of American TV can escape at least some harmful influence. Even our TV and movie monitors who work for NCTV report that they, themselves, are adversely affected, noting increased amounts of anxiety, irritability, etc.

There is a misconception that if the viewer enjoys a violent program, then the viewer is not affected. Programs in which "the good guy teaches the bad guy a lesson" by using violence, are often enjoyed by viewers. These programs cause somewhat less anxiety, but are actually likely to be more effective at getting the viewer to accept and use violence in his life. It is these programs that the networks are promoting in huge numbers at this moment.

Another myth I would like to correct is that true pornography, i.e. violent sexual portrayals, does not result in rape and violent sex. NCTV has found 33 studies, almost all since the last governmental hearings on this subject. These show that non-violent erotic films and material do not increase rape but that the frequent sexual violence and violence found in both hard-core and soft-core pornography, definitely increases the acceptance of interest in committing sexual violence for the typical American or Canadian adult male.

This so-called "soft-core" sexual violence is quite frequent on cable television and even occurs on network TV.

Finally, many people believe that comedic violence does not promote violence. Although there are only a few studies on this type of entertainment, they show an increase in aggression and the acceptance of violence in both children and adults. Violence is not a laughing matter and should not be taught to be one.

Censorship of Real-life Violence and Non-violence by Commercial TV

Public television is not only the least violent network in this country but public channels in every country that has allowed commercial television and public TV to co-exist finds that the commercial stations always portray more violent programing. In addition to this problem, the violence on commercial television is distorted from reality, not for artistic reasons, but so as not to turn-off the viewer or advertiser.

In addition to the 200-fold increased levels of violence on television, the violence actually shown is no where near realistic. There is a far higher percentage of spontaneous domestic violence in real-life and much less street violence than on television. Guns are much less common in real life but far more deadly. Television censors the pain and suffering that results from violence especially when it comes to the long-term pain, the hospital treatments, the prison sentences, the burials, and the broken families.

For example, in real-life 50% of all violence is committed under the influence of alcohol. On TV, only 1% of violence is due to alcohol. Studies have found that irrational drunken violence is not quite as popular as the gratuitous violence that saturates the airwaves. The influence of the alcohol advertisers also cannot be discounted. NCTV actually encourages an increase in drunken violence on television accompanied by large decreases in other types of violence. We are opposed to the total elimination of violence from TV. Rather, violence should never be used to entertain but only to educate the viewer realistically to the amounts and causes of real-life violence so that the viewer may have an accurate idea of the true consequences of violence.

NCTV's goal is a 75% decrease of violence on network TV and larger decreases in the amount of violence presented on HBO and cable movie channels

No Evidence That Viewers Want More Violence

NCTV has found ten studies including one of our own on the popularity of violent television. All of these studies show that violent programing is no more popular than non-violent programing. Our own study found no fall-off in viewership when TV violence decreased by 15% this past November and December and no increase in viewership when it was increased by 40% from January to May of this year. In addition to these 10 studies, another example is that although cinema violence is much worse this year than ever before in its history, theatre attendance has not gone up but is actually slightly down in spite of massive increases in the TV advertising of these movies.

Violent programs may or may not serve a commercial function of getting certain age groups to tune into different programs so that products may be sold matching the intended audiences. Even this would be a very minor difference. Repeated opinion polls show Americans want less not more violence on television and in the movies.

Only through massive advertising, pushing the idea that watching violence is harmless entertainment, can the popularity of TV and movie violence be maintained. NCTV has estimated that approximately one billion dollars is spent each year promoting violence by the TV and film industries with essentially no money spent on counter-advertising or warning viewers of the findings of objective scientific studies showing major and important harmful effects on adults and children alike.

Amounts of TV and Entertainment Violence Increasing

TV violence was present in the early 1950's and of concern to the first congressional hearings on this subject in 1954. However, in 1957 it jumped by 200% in a single year with the heavy promotion of the adult western. It has continued upward and maintained its current very high levels over the past two decades. (It is of interest that 1957 was the year when violence first started to increase in our country.)

Recently, television violence has not gone down on network TV in the slightest, but has started to increase in very major ways due to the influence of cable television on TV viewing in general. HBO and other movie channels are 200-300% more violent than even the networks. Films make up 40% of the violence on network TV and a full 60% of the violence seen in HBO homes.

Since twenty times as many films are seen at home as in the movie theatres, the product that the movie industry is producing has to be of concern to this committee. The number of violent exploitation movies released this year has increased by 50% over the previous record set in 1980. These are already making their way onto cable and network television. These films guarantee further increases in television and real-life violence for the immediate future.

The motion Picture Association of America(MPAA) makes a joke of violence with their movie rating system. NCTV research has found that the MPAA gives PG and R movie ratings to movies of identical violence levels. The only differentiating factors for MPAA movie categories is the X-rating which is used to keep children and adolescents out of movies. Apparently, no amount or intensity of violence is bad enough not to serve to the youth of our nation! In addition, the MPAA will not allow theatres to publish the reason specific ratings are given. Thus, pro-social, non-violent movies like Ordinary People, and Kramer vs Kramer are given the same rating as the Texas Chainsaw Massacre and Friday the Thirteenth with no additional information.

Because of heavy cross-ownership in the media industry, the very sources which the public relies on for its information refuse to publicize the harm being done. Networks have rarely if ever let the American people look at the research evidence. The only glimpses allowed have been strongly controlled by the networks so as not to hurt their public image with the truth.

Another example is Time-Life, Inc. which owns the nation's #1 newsmagazine. Few people realize that over 50% of Time-Life's profits come from HBO. Time-Life is currently waging a powerful effort to assure that the public is not allowed any influence over the content of cable TV. Time magazine did not publish any of the forty or so research studies of 1980 showing the harmful effects of television violence but published the only study, and a controversial one at that, claiming that TV has no impact.

The heavy promotion of Raiders of the Lost Ark by the press before it even got to the theatres is another example. This is a movie which trains the audience to cheer murder and which averages 80 violent acts per hour. It was rated PG in the United States and yet banned in Sweden because of its extreme promotion of violence. No warnings accompanied the promotion of this movie in magazines such as Time and Newsweek which proclaimed it as great family entertainment. Public interest groups are not even allowed to see the movies before release so that the public can be warned even in a small way of the harmful influences. Only those who promise to promote the movies are allowed pre-screenings.

High violence movies help establish what is acceptable entertainment, first for the theatre and cable, and then for network television. It is absolutely certain that they increase violence in our world in a major way. It is also certain that they would be rated more severely and restricted more tightly by a public rating system

Steps Needed to Decrease Entertainment Media Violence

It is strange how much our society restricts sex and yet how loose it is in regard to violence. There is essentially no sex on Saturday morning cartoons, in comic books, or in amusement electronic game centers. However, these locations have the highest concentrations of violence in our society along with our violent PG and R-rated movies. Network television carries massive amounts of explicit violence without much conern. However, it restricts explicit sex much more severely and is even decreasing implied sex in a major way this year. The point is not that there should be more sex, but that the proven, major harmful effects of video violence needs to be taken more seriously. There has never been a decrease in the quantity of network violence similar to this year's decrease in implied sexual references. This did not even occur in 1977 when the American Medical Association and the National PTA demanded action and urged their members not to buy the products of high violence sponsors.

Clearly, there are many steps that can be legally taken to limit entertainment violence in our country and that are totally with the bounds of our national constitution. For example, every advertisement promoting the watching of entertainment violence could and should be presented with a warning that the Surgeon General has determined that the viewing of entertainment violence is harmful to your health and that of others. There can and should be one required advertisement telling the viewer of the harmful effects of watching entertainment violence for every two ads promoting violence.

Currently, this government and Congress are slashing funding of the only low violence network in our country--the Public Broadcasting System. Research has found that watching PBS actually decreases violence in society. The funding of PBS is probably the most effective and least expensive anti-violence program in our country. Instead of cutting funding, Congress should increase funding, access, and program advertisement of PBS programing. Congress can and should add a second public network which could be added, at least to cable TV.

A current law can be changed that forbids commercial television from having access to the fine low-violence cartoons produced by public monies for PBS and now sitting in mothballs. These programs can currently only be used if the broadcaster gives up all profits for that period of time and shows low violence for a large financial loss. This law exists in spite of the public having spent 75 million dollars to produce these films. They should be made available to commercial channels for reasonable fees, somewhat lower than the prevailing rate so as to encourage pro-social and low violence entertainmen for children. The current restriction exists solely to protect the profits of the producers and owners of high violence cartoon programing. If Congress is worried about hurting such poor people, it could even buy up the current high violence cartoon programs and take them out of circulation.

Violent programs could and should be required to carry an inaudible signal with television sets being required to be built with a lock mechanism that, when set, would blank out violence programing at whatever level the family or viewer widhed to set his TV. Such a proposal was brought up in this committee in the 1977 hearings along with other sensible ideas. These proposals were defeated by an 8-7 vote at that time through a coalition formed between conservative congressmen and the Big Money forces of the television industry.

The advertising of violent toys on television should be outlawed. Certainly, if it can be illegal to advertise cigarettes on television, it must be constitutional to outlaw the selling of violence to children. Additionally, the advertising of violent Movies should be banned from television. At NCTV we receive many complaints about the harmful promotion of gruesomely violent films on TV. It has been openly admitted in movie industry literature that the target audience of these ads start with the 12 year-old age group even for R-rated movies.

A Public movie rating system is urgently needed as presently exists in every other country in the developed free world. Such a rating system is clearly constitutional since several states have had such rating boards in the past as recently as last year. With 20 times as many films being watched on television as in the theatre, this needs to be a concern of this committee. The consumer has a right to know the content of the product before he pays his money or invests his time. This would also allow hyper-violent programs to be placed in a special X-rated category for violence and restricted from television and from viewers under 18 years old in the theatre. It would also permit adults to have an idea of what they are thinking about seeing and knowledge of its probable harmful influence.

A small white dot could be required to be broadcast in the upper left-hand corner of the screen on violent programs such as is done in France. This would allow the viewer to quickly know that the program was one of high violence and not healthy viewing. It would allow the parents a convenient guideline to set for their children and, even, themselves.

Government can continue to fund further research in the several areas of study that are still inadequately researched. These would include the effects of viewing violent sports contests such as boxing, ice hockey, and professional wrestling. (Nine studies have found viewers of such high violence to be adversely affected. Football violence should also be researched to find out what type of violence on the field might be harmful to the viewers. Much research is also needed to know the effects of these sports on the habits of the participants as well). Research could also examine if there are ways to present violence that do not promote violence but rather that educate the viewer on the real dangers of violence. Examples of this may be realistic and non-sensational documentaries, etc. Further research on the effects of violence toys and games, which are heavily promoted on TV, and on the effects of the heavy positive portrayal of alcohol consumption on television is needed(the average viewer will see alcohol consumed 3000 times each year on TV and almost always with positive consequences).

Several national consumer and public access channels should be started with public funding. This would allow the American people to get honest product information and, ideally, in depth news untainted by commercial influences. Municipal ownership and/or control of cable television monoplies should be encouraged instead of outlawed by conservative and special interest forces as is currently being attempted by this Congress.

I am very pessimistic that this Congress will do anything to control media violence or to promote the public interest. I fully expect it to continue to take steps which result in the promotion of violence--cutting funding for public TV, allowing commercialization of public TV, banning municipal influence over cable, fostering media concentration blocking access to non-violent, publically-owned children's programing, etc. I doubt that Big Money powers will allow national consumer channels or public access channels, warnings of the effects of entertainment violence, reinstatement of the research funding necessary to get more knowledge of harmful influences, etc.

Until the strangle-hold on democracy caused by the powerful influence of special interest groups through their political action committee campaign contributions is broken, I expect that the American people can expect little help from Congress. Only when public financing of elections is successfully passed, will we see Congressmen truly worried about what the average citizen thinks. I fully expect the opinions of 94% of physicians and 80% of the American people, that violent programing needs to be decreased, to be ignored by this Congress. I only hope that I am wrong.

II.PRESS RELEASE:Twenty-six dead from watching "Deer Hunter"; Federal Communications Commission action demanded (NCTV, January 1982)

Twenty-nine Americans have shot themselves after watching The Deer Hunter, 28 from viewing the Hollywood film on television, according to the National Coalition on Television Violence (NCTV). Twenty-six of these young men, whose ages ranged from 8 to 31, have died. Police and press investigations have reported that the victims were influenced by the Russian roulette scenes graphically displayed in the movie. The danger of this violence was pointed out as early as 1978 after the first death. CBS and the other networks agreed in 1979 that the Russian roulette scenes were unfit for television. In spite of this, pay-cable and local television stations have been continuing to show the film across the nation.

The epidemic of deaths caused by The Deer Hunter was first noted in July of 1980 by Linda Talbott of Handgun Control, Inc. NCTV was notified and has since been attempting unsuccessfully to get local broadcasters to delete the Russian roulette scenes in the interest of preserving human life. NCTV is now asking the Federal Communications Commission and the House Communications Sub-committee to require that the Russian roulette scenes be deleted from television and cable presentations of the movie.

Dr. Thomas Radecki, M.D., a psychiatrist with the Southern Illinois University School of Medicine and the chairman of NCTV has also asked the FCC not to renew the broadcast license of WFLD-TV in Chicago (Channel 32), the station connected with the most recent deaths. He stated that he had warned WFLD before the broadcast of the serious threat to human life. Dr. Radecki had predicted a 50% chance of death in the Chicago area due to the broadcast. Two young men killed themselves playing Russian roulette on 21 November shortly after viewing the movie.

WFLD has since announced that it will show the film again in May of 1982, in spite of the deaths. Dr. Radecki stated, "The sole reason that WFLD is showing this film is to maximize advertising profits. In spite of considerable protest in local print and radio media and in spite of the two deaths, WFLD still refuses to take the problem of human death seriously. It is clearly abusing the public airwaves. It should have its license to use the public airwaves revoked."

Dr. Radecki said, "Industrial self-regulation and the Federal Communications Commission have failed in their obligations to protect the public. Only citizen action against the advertisers is left. NCTV will be monitoring the next time if we can, at all, afford it." He stated that the repeated Deer Hunter deaths raise the issue of legal liability where programmes have been found to cause repeated deaths and when the station and producer have been forewarned. NCTV is cooperating with two separate law firms preparing to sue stations on behalf of families of two of the deceased young men.

Radecki noted that the natural human learning process is responsible for the numerous real-life replays of the Deer Hunter scenes. He said, "For every one to two million viewers, approximately one death is occurring. Other high violence movies are undoubtedly causing frequent deaths but the connections are harder to trace. Russian roulette is such an unusual way to die, and since witnesses are often available, the connection is much easier to trace. The Deer Hunter is typical of the distorted violence in Hollywood and TV entertainment. Not a single episode of such Russian roulette torture is reported to have occurred in Vietnam. But now, it has occurred 29 times in America."

Dr. Radecki stated that in no case of the Deer Hunter victims was there any report of mental illness or clear depression. However, he voiced considerable concern that America is becoming calloused to human death. "Many callers to NCTV act as if, had the people been depressed, those deaths were not to be taken seriously," he reported. Radecki noted that over 50% of Americans will have suicidal thoughts at some time. He attributed the growing, calloused attitude toward death to the massive amounts of entertainment violence being presented in American movie and television programming.

III. PRESS RELEASE: Movie violence found most violent ever: Public rating system said needed (NCTV, July 1981)

Movie violence is reported to have increased to its highest level ever. The National Coalition on Television Violence (NCTV) released its Spring monitoring results showing theatre movies now average 24 violent acts per hour. NCTV claims that this appears to be the most violent quarter in movie history. It was 30% higher than any prev quarter monitored.

NCTV reports that it has been monitoring movies for violence since September, 1980. This Spring quarter was definitely more violent than any of the previous six quarters. NCTV notes that Variety magazine, the movie industry's newspaper, reported a record number of horror movies in Spring, 1981. Variety now reports (26.5.82) a further 25% increase this year to a new record with a "glut of horror films available." NCTV found a record 66% of all films in the Spring quarter fell into the high violence category. G-rated family movies have decreased from 32% of all movies in 1969, when the current film-industry-controlled MPAA rating system began, to a record low of 4% in the past two years.

Dr. Thomas Radecki, M.D. psychiatrist with the Southern Illinois School of Medicine and Chairman of the Coalition, in an interview stated, "I find the increasing number and violence of horror and revenge movies particularly troubling. These movies cause large increases in fear and anger while simultaneously desensitising the viewer to extreme violence. I see the harmful effects literally every week in my psychiatric practice. Revenge movies teach that good citizens must take the law into their own hands, using vigilante murder as a form of justice. Horror and revenge movies simultaneously increase fear while desensitising the viewer to extreme violence. They teach the viewer to accept and even enjoy violence. Large numbers of adult and children viewers unconsciously adopt violence as an appropriate and more readily used method of solving everyday problems."

NCTV has found over 700 scientific studies showing the harmful effects of TV and fil violence. Specific films found to increase anger and violence include The Crooked Road (Hitchcock), French Connection, Rollerball, and Clockwork Orange. Over 100 of these studies have been done on adult viewers. Dr. Radecki pointed out that the research on the effects of video violence on adults is as overwhelming in showing harmful increases in anger and aggression for adults as it is for children.

Radecki said that the current adult generation is committing violence at a higher rate than ever recorded in American history. "Although film and TV violence are not the only causes of the epidemic of violence now gripping our country, research clearly demonstrates that they are a major cause." He noted that murder has increased 300% and rape 500% in the last generation. He estimated that, based on the research, at least 25% and up to 50% of this increase is coming from the culture of violence taught by TV and films. He noted two studies by other researchers found that 50% of American and Canadian male college students reported at least some possibility that they would rape a woman if they were certain of getting away with it. It has been reported that one in three twelve-year-old American girls will be raped sometime in her lifetime.

When asked why NCTV monitors films for violence, Radecki said, 'Movies make up close to 40% of the violence viewers see on network TV. It is the most concentrated violence. In HBO and pay-cable families, 60% of all home violence viewing will come from movies. Thanks to Hollywood, HBO subscribers not only watch more TV but also much more violent TV, averaging 12 violent acts per hour for over 20 hours per week (8 acts per hour for network and 20 per hour for HBO)."

Radecki blamed the total lack of civic and moral responsibility on the part of the film industry for the problem. He accused Congress of forgetting its public duty and being controlled by the wealth of the TV and film industry. Radecki called for an honest, publically-controlled movie rating system to correct the irresponsible industry-controlled system.

NCTV and others have found that the levels of violence in R-rated and even PG-rated movies are considerably higher than X-rated movies. Ken Clark, vice-president of the Motion Picture Association of America, admitted at the Spring NCTV board meeting that their MPAA X-rating is "pretty much synonymous with sex." R-rated violent movies are often made for and advertised to the young teenage age group. The producers know that the large majority of theatres do not enforce the rating and that there is no penalty whatsoever. Radecki said many violent PG movies should be at least R-rated with clear warnings of possible harmful effects and strictly enforced ratings. Only a public movie rating system would allow for such enforcement.

Radecki claimed that every other country in the world has a public film rating system. He said that such a system has been found constitutional in the U.S. Dallas, Texas has such a system and Maryland had a somewhat weak public system until last year when industry pressure caused politicians to disband it. Maryland courts even upheld the board's banning extreme violence in a case of brutal dismemberment of a live woman in a "snuff" movie.

S.S. SUBMISSION BY THE NATIONAL VIEWERS AND LISTENERS ASSOCIATION, UK
Mary Whitehouse

Any assessment of the role of television in the creation of social violence needs to be made against the intransigence of broadcasting authorities which remains - certainly in Britain and the States - impervious to any challenge of a causal link between televised and social violence.

Nineteen years ago the campaign from which this association was formed warned both broadcasting authorities and government of the dangers implicit in gratuitous and explicit violence on television. In the years that have followed concern has been expressed by parliamentarians, police, magistrates, women's organisations and churches and, not least, within the various codes on the treatment of violence issued by the BBC and IBA to producers:

> "/The IBA/ Working Party is convinced that there is no alternative to a continuing assumption that the portrayal of violence may have harmful effects". ("The Portrayal of Violence on Television", IBA, 1973).

> "...Violence ought not to be presented in ways which might glorify it or portray it as a proper solution to interpersonal conflicts." ("The portrayal of violence in television programmes" BBC, 1972).

Over 700 (1) pieces of international scientific research have demonstrated a causal link between televised and social violence but as fast as such research is published the broadcasting authorities sponsor and produce "research" to the opposite effect, or issue immediate verbal disclaimers.

The most recent of these reports being:

(a) the inadequately financed and rapidly produced Tumber Report (1982) in response to this association's claim (see page 6) that a 'copycat' effect could have played its part in the Brixton/Toxteth riots in 1981 and in spite of Lord Scarman's claim (see page 5). The Tumber Report took no account whatever of the long-term conditioning effect of televised violence; of the cumulative effect of the coverage of techniques of violent protest - stoning, burning of cars, petrol bombs, etc - which have appeared on our television screens for many years: and

(b) the reponse of the broadcasters to the recent (May 1982) official US Government review, carried out by the National Institute of Mental Health, of research on televised violence which came to the conclusion that the evidence of a link between that and aggressive behaviour in young people is "overwhelming". This report was immediately attacked by CBS etc.

Television news by its very nature has to go for visual impact, and moving film of violence has the most powerful impact of all. So TV feeds upon images of conflict in a way that the printed word rarely does.

---

(1) "These studies cover more than 100,000 people of all ages. The overwhelming consensus of this research is that a significant and important connection exists. This research shows that all age levels, social classes, ethnic backgrounds, and IQ levels are negatively affected in a variety of ways." Dr. Tom Radecki, Chairman, National Coalition on Television Violence (US)

Assuming, as we must that the public have to be informed of major violent events round the world, the challenge is in the way TV presents them. This association has long been concerned about the intrusive TV close-up shots of mental and physical suffering, believing them to be desensitising, insensitive and intrusive into privacy.

As an example of the arrogant dismissal of public concern, we quote the repeat showing of a particularly violent episode of 'The Sweeney' (18 May 1981) in spite of the IBA Chairman's assurance that: "The staff of the authority have already told the producing company that they disapproved of the episode of 'The Sweeney' shown on 9 November (1978)". In their view the level of violence was unacceptable and it was, moreover, sustained through much of the piece.

Young people today are reared on television. They subconsciously imbibe and accept its values and its message. And that message, to them, is that violence does not really hurt, that gunshot wounds do not fester, that the 'Goodie' often wins his case by being quicker on the draw and more adept at the kick in the groin.

Society on television demands little explanation or expiation for acts of violence or for any other crime. The so-called up-holders of law and order in peak viewing series like 'The Sweeney' 'Target' or 'The Professionals' are as likely to use gratuitous violence and indulge in illegal practices as the criminals they are chasing.

Ideally the responsibility should lie with the broadcasting authorities, but our experience and research has shown that both BBC and ITV are unwilling to admit mistakes and arrogant in their attitude to criticism.

Parents and teachers clearly have a great responsibility but, general, find themselves unable to exercise it effectively. Media attacks on those who challenge the role of television incline young people to presume that such views are reactionary when in fact the reverse is the case.

Governments are reluctant to take direct action because they fear the 'comeback' of the broadcasters and because certain sections of the public enjoy violence.

One striking feature of violent films, on television and in the cinema, is that physical violence is very often accompanied by obscenely violent language and by gross sexual abuse. The implications of all this upon the whole quality of human/cultural life should be plain for all to see.

Recommendations

Violence on television and films is one cause of social violence which could be quickly and effectively dealt with at source. However, it is very arguable that its effects have sunk deep into the psychology of the people and it may take years for the powerful conditioning towards violence to be replaced with a more responsible public attitude.

It is also arguable that whatever recommendations are made by the Council of Europe's Media Committee will take time to implement.

In order to ensure that its recommendations will not follow the way of all their predecessors, ie much publicity followed by dismissive reactions from broadcasters worldwide, some means must be found to provide 'teeth'.

All our experience leads us to believe that only continuing public pressure backed up by adequate legislation will have effect. Consistent, detailed and independent monitoring, the publication of regular reports, naming of, say, the 'top ten' users of violence both in advertising and production would, in our view, be more effective and acceptable and practical than direct censorship.

Violence is covered by obscene publications legislation in Britain. But broadcasting is specifically excluded from such legislation. We have long contended that this is a dangerous anomaly which should be corrected without delay.

The advent of cable and satellite is rapidly changing the face of traditional broadcasting and underlines the need for far more comprehensive public accountability than has attended broadcasting so far. We would recommend the establishment, certainly in Britain, of an independent broadcasting commission/council with independent premises, with access to films and tapes of programmes and an institute of research designed to provide the public with information and understanding of the impact of this immensely powerful medium upon them and upon their society.

S.S. APPENDIX I

In his report "The Brixton Disorders" (Government enquiry into the cause of the riots in Toxteth and Brixton 1981), Lord Scarman had this to say: "The media, particularly the broadcasting media, do in my view bear a responsibility for the escalation of the disorders (including the looting) in Brixton on Saturday 11 April and for their continuation the following day, and for the imitative element in the later disorders elsewhere."

He went on: "I do urge editors and producers ... at all times to bear in mind that rioters, and others, in their exhibition of violence respond alarmingly to what they see (wrongly but understandably) as the encouraging presence of the TV camera and the reporter."

In his conclusion Lord Scarman emphasised particularly - and as a matter of urgency - "The need for newspaper editors, television and radio producers, and journalists to give continuous attention to the social implications of their awesome power to influence the minds, the attitudes and the behaviour not only of the reading, viewing and listening public, but also of those whose unlawful behaviour they report."

Lord Annan in his report on the future of broadcasting 1975 said: "In our view people are right to object to the glorification of violence when its depiction may possibly even probably, do positive harm, especially to the most vulnerable with the fewest defences."

Lord Chief Justice Lane said (House of Lords, 23 March 1982) that: "All the old sanctions had gone: the parental, the religious, the social, the financial and the employment sanction. Apart from those disincentives which had gone, they (young people) were faced with incentives to commit crime in the shape of violence depicted on screens of all sizes ... One would only have to sit a short time in my court in the Strand to realise the imitative effect of the huge increase in the sale of pornography."

5.5. APPENDIX II

- Robin Day ("Day by Day" William Kimber & Co Ltd 1975)

"But within nation states, or at least within our nation state, which is what matters to me, we have chosen the path of reason, to establish that civilised order which is liberty under law, and government by consent.

"Of late that civilised order has been increasingly threatened by unreason and lawlessness, violence and terrorism. Television may well have been, if not the cause, a contributing influence. By reflecting, television may have inflamed. By depicting, television may have magnified. By projecting, television may have incited. By accentuating, television may have encouraged."

- Sir Hugh Greene (Director General of the BBC)

"Television is the most powerful medium ever to affect the thinking and behaviour of people."

- Mary Whitehouse (11 July 1981)

"To Editor: BBC News and ITN - Please consider whether the current massive television coverage of acts of violence is contributing to the spread of the riots ..."

- Peter Woon (Editor BBC TV News)

"It would be foolish to pretend that there has been no copycat effect".

- David Nicholas (Editor ITN)

"Media coverage of the disturbance last week has probably had some copycat effect".

- The Times (10 August 1981)

"First we should ask ourselves: Can anyone seriously doubt there was a strong copycat element in the riots? ... That many youths wore balaclavas or plastic bags over their heads? That there was a rash of fires in dustbins? Or that so many milk floats were commandeered? How else do you explain the spread of this behaviour? Was it by word of mouth from Toxteth to Wood Green? Was it over the telephone? Scarcely a medium of mass communication!"

oOo

5.5. APPENDIX III: Further proposals submitted to the Hearing

Mary Whitehouse

If what a very famous BBC Director General said way back in the '60s and as Britain's new Channel 4 is now claiming in its efforts to attract advertisers is true, namely that "television is the most powerful medium ever to affect the thinking and behaviour of people"; if it is true as more and more people are coming to believe, that television has played a major role in the creation of the violence which currently disfigures western society, then it is essential that there should be rapid and effective counter measures on behalf of the public at large and the young in particular.

It has always been our contention that just so long as television is seen - as it is by the vast majority of people - largely as a medium for entertainment to be lightly switched on or off with little thought beyond whether it is or is not immediately pleasurable, just so long will the medium itself and those who work within it have a power beyond our measuring and often far beyond our awareness. If television is truely to serve rather than as too often now to dominate or subtly propagandise, then today's children must be given, while there is still time, a far wider and more comprehensive education in the understanding of that medium as well as of film and video than has so far been attempted, certainly as far as Britain is concerned.

Such education cannot be left entirely to the schools and colleges, though they will inevitably have a major role to play. Parents too should seek a greater understanding not only for themselves but of the need for their children to be educated in the wise use of this comparatively new and immensely influential force in our society.

It would, therefore, like to propose:

1) that the Council of Europe should launch a major educational programme throughout its member countries;

2) that it should set up a small Working Party to report back within, if I may so suggest, a period of about six months, which would, for example, consider and recommend syllabuses, advise on discussion material and on the necessary audio/visual support;

3) that all educational establishements throughout Europe be made aware of the availability of this material;

4) that the Council of Europe itself undertake the training of advisors who would be available to speak at major educational and community conferences as requested throughout Europe.

I would also like to propose that a direct approach be made by the Committee to mens and womens organisations, churches, community and youth groups of all kinds throughout Europe with recommendations that they should, for example:

1) encourage all kinds of leisure activities as alternatives to watching television, particularly as fas as children and young people are concerned, not least practising skills which they have learnt from television;

2) emphasise the importance of family life, "doing things together" - not least talking or watching carefully chosen television programmes together. Such activities would build family relationships, something most essential at this time when the family is under so much pressure;

3) discuss how best television may be handled in the home.

One would hope that some of the material provided for the schools would be of interest to these adult groups too.

No doubt, if acceptable, these rather basic recommendations will be filled out by the wisdom and experience particularly of those members who have specialist knowledge and training.

5.6. SUBMISSION BY THE QUAKER COUNCIL FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Adam Curle, Nicholas McGeorge

I. Introduction

As an NGO with consultative status with the Council of Europe, the Quaker Council for European Affairs is submitting to members of this hearing two papers concerned with education and violence, one written by Professor Adam Curle, former director of Peace Studies at the University of Bradford and the second by Nicholas McGeorge, a psychologist in the UK prison service.

The Quaker concern

Quakers, members of the Religious Society of Friends, have for over three hundred years sought peaceful ways of solving conflicts and attempted to reduce levels of violence both at the personal level and through the structures and institutions of society. We therefore welcome the Hearing on Violence being organised by the Committee on Culture and Education and hope that it will help to concentrate thinking on ways of reducing the current levels of violence.

Believing as Quakers do, "in that of God in every individual", violence to any human being does violence to us all. We believe one must seek the good in all personal relationships and attempt in this way to solve conflicts through creative reconciliation rather than force.

Such attitudes must start with family relationships and continue to develop as a child grows up and learns to cope with a wider society.

The contributions are from Friends, but they are both writing as individuals and not necessarily speaking for QCEA or for the Society of Friends as a whole. Friends have a deep interest in methods of conflict resolution and in the last three years have been engaging in particularly interesting work in schools in Britain through QPAC - the Quaker Peace Action Caravan programme. Many individuals are engaged in practical work to counteract violence in situations of tension such as some deprived multi-racial areas, and in Northern Ireland.

Conclusions

We would be happy to share our experiences in more detail with the committee and to co-operate in any research programme it may decide to put forward. We would urge the hearing to work towards:

1. Practical ways of improving educational structures and curricula so that they can contribute towards a reduction in violence;

2. Ways of encouraging the media to take a positive approach to peaceful conflict resolution and to show a respect for all human beings whatever their backgrounds, avoiding stereotypes and the making of scapegoats, not hiding violence but not glorifying it. The establishment of some form of code of conduct for journalists, broadcasters and film makers could be a start.

## 2. Education and violence by Adam Curle

Some students of human nature, ethologists and psycho-analysts for examples, would maintain that our nature is inherently violent and destructive. They would mostly maintain that, at best, the expression of this violence can be controlled by conditioning, social or legal sanctions, and by altering what are found to be exacerbating conditions. According to this view, the role of education in reducing violent behaviour (but not eradicating violence) might be: to punish the expression of violent impulses and to reward unviolent behaviour; to teach ways of resolving conflict without violence; to divert energies and impulses that could result in violence into more acceptable channels such as competitive sport or cadet training.

I would not criticise such expediences (except on points of application) but they seem to me to be seriously limited because based on an understanding of violence that I believe to be wrong. I do not believe that we are ineradicably violent and am upheld in this view by social scientists as eminent as those of the opposite opinion but trained for the most part in the disciplines of anthropology and psychology. This is no place to tackle a problem which able scholars have failed to solve in volumes. Let me, however, outline a point of view which in a sense bridges the two schools and on which I shall base my subsequent arguments.

Let me start with a brief semantic discussion. Much of the debate revolves around the word "aggression" rather than violence, but aggression has two somewhat different meanings. The predominantly English usage more or less equates it with the violent and destructive. The other, the American, more or less equates with the energetic, forceful, enterprising, incisive; in fact, it is often complementary to refer to someone as aggressive. Much of the argument on aggression derives from animal studies where the phenomenon is much more akin to the American than the English usage. Animals are "aggressive" if their territory is threatened, if fighting or fleeing from an enemy such as a predator, if protecting or acquiring a mate, if seeking to dominate a herd or pack which they do, accepting the responsibilities or caring for younger or weaker animals, when they are sufficiently strong and experienced. But animals very rarely fight to the death within their own species; the victor almost invariably spares the defeated. Nevertheless, when we apply the adjective aggressive to humans we shift the meaning to include the destructiveness and cruelty that are so sadly and peculiarly human; we even assert that it is our "animal" ancestry that makes us so violent.

The essence of animal aggression is that it is purposeful. Once the purpose is achieved, the predator evaded or beaten off, the mate secured, it comes to an end. It is hardly ever wanton. It can best be understood as a functional drive for survival and fulfilment: the strong young baboon who fights his way into the ranks of the senators is struggling to achieve the social role in which his strength and courage can be best employed and developed. By comparison, human violence is non-functional.

Let me sum up by saying that human beings are indeed naturally aggressive as are animals - there is ample evidence for that, but they are not naturally aggressive in the English sense. The reason for our tendency to violence, especially pointless violence, is that we live in complex societies in which there are countless barriers, some crassly obvious, some subtle and hidden, against the fulfilment of our potential; the pressure of these frustrations sours purposeful aggression into non-functional destructiveness - consider the senseless violence of some terrorist groups. This argument is expressed epigrammatically by a wise psychiatrist of my acquaintance: Violence is the fruit of unlived life.

I start, therefore, from the point that there are two types of violence: natural (animal) aggression which is functional; and pathological (specifically human although encountered in rats living in overcrowded conditions) violence that is non-functional and derives from the blockages impeding our full development and which are inherent in, probably, all human societies.

Schools and educational systems being part of the larger society no doubt have their own particular role in maintaining or erecting the frustrating barriers - certainly my own rigid, unimaginative, authoritarian and incompetent schooling ruined years of my life. But is there anything that they can do to improve things, to diminish rather than to contribute to violence? The answer, I think, is certainly "yes": teachers are probably the most intelligent, dedicated and sensitive professional group in the world.

Education may contribute towards the reduction of violence through what is directly taught and by what is indirectly imparted by the character of the institution and the accepted pattern of behaviour of those within it: instruction on the unviolent resolution of conflict will be reinforced if given by a peaceful and friendly teacher but nullified and indeed counteracted if given by a bully. Even more important, the structure of an educational institution may tend either to break down or to build up the barriers of frustration so conducive to violent aggression. If students are allowed an appropriate degree of autonomy they will the more easily reach maturity, but if subjected to the pointless restrictions of rigid hierarchies, their path to development will be rough and interrupted.

Below I have listed 11 queries which may help us to focus attention on issues affecting the relationship of violence, or lack of violence, and education. These are not necessarily the most important and certainly not the only questions that we might ask ourselves on this topic, but they may provide a starting point for more detailed enquiries. These queries touch on the structure of the system and the frustrations it may or may not occasion, the subject matter taught, and the degree of encouragement given (or not given) in various respects to students.

1. Is the curriculum sufficiently varied and flexible to provide opportunities for a wide range of interests: intellectual, artistic, physical, technical and practical? It is probably more important that there should be significant chances of development in any of these five directions than that the choice of "academic" subjects should be very great (although it should always include both arts and sciences). Educational systems tend to overemphasise the intellectual at the cost of great frustration in other directions which are in general depreciated.

2. Are a wide range of abilities and interests accorded equal recognition?

3. Are creativity and originality encouraged and respected?

4. Are the intellectual, emotional, physical and family problems of students treated with intelligent sympathy?

5. Does the system give responsibility to students commensurate with age and experience; are they permitted to participate in the educational process, for example by discussing the curriculum and teaching methods?

6. In the teaching of such subjects as history, is there sufficient emphasis on peace and co-operation to demonstrate that violence is not necessary, inevitable or normal?

7. Are students taught that, although conventional history text books are full of battles, there are other means of resolving international and indeed communal and interpersonal conflict?

8. Is there sufficient education for international and inter-racial understanding and appreciation?

9. Is the teaching on co-operation, peaceful settlement of conflict and inter-group understanding imparted in a consistent context (that is one in which the structure and ethos of the system supports rather than contradicts what is being taught)?

10. Does the system avoid being unnecessarily and rigidly hierarchical?

11. Does the system make great efforts to equip students, both intellectually and emotionally, to cope with the problems of living in a rapidly changing society and to withstand the frustrations of unemployment?

In conclusion, the educational system of any society is an expression of the will and the needs of that society. If it is one in which violence is prevalent, it is likely that its schools will be affected by the same conditions that are responsible for the violence. Nevertheless, although is is part of society, education is on the growing edge and has some capacity to initiate change and to set new directions. If education systems are thus to contribute to the reduction of violence, it is essential that we should better understand its nature and its source and I suggest that resources be devoted to research in this area.

A preliminary, impressionistic, enquiry might consist of an evaluation of different types and levels of education in terms of the 11 queries. Taking a five-point scale and awarding 5 to emphatic assent, 4 to assent, 3 to a mixed or uncertain answer, 2 to dissent and 1 to emphatic dissent, would give a general indication of the extent to which a school or system militated against violence or, on the other hand, failed to do so.

More detailed research could appropriately be divided into three sections: the curriculum (broadly, the issues raised in queries 1, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 11); teaching approaches and attitudes towards students (queries 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 9); school structure (queries 1, 2, 5 and 10). (It will be noted that, since there is an underlying unity in the practice and experience of education aspects of several queries relate to more than one field of enquiry).

It is suggested that in the first place the research should be confined to a sensitive and detailed analysis of what is actually done. At a later stage, when researchers have had an opportunity to share and collate their findings, more complex studies could attempt to correlate educational practice with behavioural patterns. This, clearly, would be a major undertaking, requiring the services of a skilled consultant.

3. Replacing violence with problem solving by Nicholas McGeorge

"Violent men play violent games because their non-violent repertoire is restricted. Even when a violent person is aware of what he does, he rarely knows what to do instead. In fact, such a man frequently assumes that violence is the only means available to achieve his objectives. Changing his needs is not enough; we must help him arrive at the discovery of new strategies for satisfying needs."

This view, expressed by Hans Toch in his study of violent criminals in American prisons, would find general acceptance by many psychologists.

Nearly every violent person was known as such when they were at school. Their behaviour was already causing distress to their peers and to their teachers. Fighting among children is very common. In a study of 11,000 boys and girls aged seven years of age in the United Kingdom, nearly six out of every ten mothers admitted that their children were sometimes, or often, involved in fighting (Pringle et al 1966). This level of fighting decreases over the years, but there are a group of children who apparently fail to learn new ways of achieving what they want. Such children are often impulsive. They react quickly, do not think out the consequences of their immediate actions, and make more errors in solving problems. They become frustrated, and in consequence tend to use violence as a means of gaining their objectives.

In the past ten years, there has been increasing evidence that it is possible to help such children at an early age. Psychologists are reporting successes in getting five-year-old impulsive children to slow down, take their time in seeking to solve problems and achieve satisfactory solutions (Michenbaum 1977). Such methods are referred to as "coping, self-control or problem-solving" therapies.

In a survey of such therapies, Mahoney and Arnkoff (1978) raised the possibility that for the first time a system of therapy could become preventive as well as curative. What, they asked, would happen if personal problem-solving became a standard part of the educational curriculum? Would the incidence of maladjustment be reduced if coping skills were taught at both the elementary and secondary school levels?

Mahoney (1977) has specified a "personal science" approach to helping his clients develop progressively more complex problem skills. His basic seven-step sequence can be represented by the mnemonic SCIENCE:-

S Specify general problem
C Collect information
I Identify causes or patterns
E Examine options
N Narrow options and experiment
C Compare data
E Extend, revise or replace

A "stress inocculation" method has been devised by Novaco (1975) to help adolescents to learn to control their tempers. Through role-play and mental rehearsal these adolescents learn to monitor their own thoughts and behaviour. They are then less likely to react with aggression in situations in which they had previously seen aggression as the only response.

From my own work with violent prisoners in the English prison system, I am constantly made aware of how difficult such men find the idea that non-violent ways may be more successful in achieving what they really want for themselves. And, as Toch remarked, violent men do succeed in involving others in playing their violent games. People need to learn how not to get drawn in, as much as violent people need to have alternatives to their violence taught to them.

Violence in the media, which supports the stereotype of violence bringing about solutions to human problems, can only serve to reinforce the behaviour of violent people. The education system in Europe ought to be demonstrating from elementary school upwards that the solution of such problems is more sensibly achieved in the long term by non-violent methods.

(This paper reflects my own views and in no way is to be understood as representing official policy).

REFERENCES

MAHONEY M and ARNKOFF D "Cognitive and Self-Control Therapies" in Garfield and Bergin (eds) "Handbook of Psychotherapy and Behaviour Changes" Wiley New York (1978)

MICHENBAUM M "Cognitive Behaviour Modification", Plenum Press New York 1977

NOVACO "Anger Control: The Development and Evaluation of an Experimental Treatment", Heath & Co., Mass. (1975)

PRINGLE K et al "11,000 Seven Year Olds" Longmans London (1966)

TOCH H "Violent Men" Penguin London (1972).

## 5.7. TEACHING OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Brian Stapleton

During the course of the hearing on violence arranged by the Cultural and Education Committee of the Council of Europe in Assisi from 1-3 September 1982 it became apparent that an important area for development was the teaching of problem solving skills in coping with interpersonal relationships in order to remove the use of violence through fighting and other aggressive behaviour.

Little or no information is currently available about the use of such education in the member states of the Council of Europe. In order to help provide the information as an aid to future potential recommendations by the Committee to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, it is proposed that the following aspects need to be examined:

1. an assessment of the current situation among the member states on the teaching of conflict resolution in primary and secondary schools

2. the development of a bibliography of material that is now available on conflict resolution and interpersonal problem solving that is suitable for school use

3. a description of current research projects being undertaken in member states that are relevant to the provision of material in (2) or to curriculum studies that help to promote the concept of conflict resolution in schools.

The project could be supervised by Professor Adam Curle, formerly Professor of Peace Studies at Bradford University and Professor of Education at Harvard University. The research would be undertaken by a suitably qualified post-graduate student based at Quaker House, Brussels.

The results of the research are to be made available to the Council of Europe, the governments of member states and any other organisation or individual with an interest in the subject.

Funding of the research would be necessary by sources other than the Quaker Council for European Affairs. QCEA would investigate the possibility of trust funding from the United Kingdom but would appreciate funding from any source.

The Quaker Council for European Affairs would oversee the project on behalf of the funding body.

We have made no attempt at firm costing but, using the office facilities etc. that we have, and taking into account the need for a good deal of travel we come up with the following for a 6 months projetc:

- a minimum budget based on using a graduate "volunteer: 150,000 BF
- a maximum budget employing a "research fellow": 240,000 BF

This is just to give a broad idea of the sort of backing that would be needed. We have, for instance, assumed that the expert supervision would be free - this might not be so. We have also not included the costs of printing a first report.

## 6. SUPPORTING MATERIAL

## 6.1. CONCLUSIONS AND EXTRACTS OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON VIOLENCE IN THE COMMUNICATIONS INDUSTRY

(Ontario, Canada, 1977)

### A. CONCLUSIONS

After approximately two years of investigations, the Commissioners look again at the instructions given when this body was set up in May, 1975.

1. The Commission was to study the effects on society of the increasing exhibition of violence in the communications industry. This has been done in three major fields: previous research, present public perceptions and commissioned new research. A permanent library of all available literature on the subject, more than 4,000 titles, has been assembled. These range from major studies published in multi-volume book form to scholarly papers reporting the results of individual field and laboratory experiments focused on single elements in the overall subject. Commissioners visited 15 countries where governments, broadcast institutions, academics and others have been and are investigating, and, in some cases, challenging, the effects of media violence. The subject was discussed at length in major entertainment and news production centres in the United States - by far the world's main supplier of violent television and films - with actors, critics, censors, scientists, public and private agencies, writers, directors, producers and network executives. In Canada, research was commissioned to fill perceived gaps in the existing research, and to relate the problem to Canadian experience.

2. The Commission was to determine if there is any connection or a cause-and-effect relationship between this phenomenon and the incidence of violent crime in society. The short answer is yes. How serious an effect is less clear. Crime rates that rise or fall marginally year by year are not a conclusive factor, because no one knows or can say what the situation would be if the phenomenon of increasing depiction of violence in the communications industry did not exist at its present high level. Certainly, media violence is not the sole cause of crime. However, it is one of the few that have been measured - even though the measurements may differ - of all the social circumstances that have been present as society has become increasingly violent. Many people are becoming more indifferent to violence being perpetrated against others, as well as becoming more fearful of their own safety both at home and in the streets, parks and neighbourhoods. If the amount of depicted violence that exists in the North American intellectual environment could be expressed in terms of a potentially dangerous food or drink additive, an air or water pollutant such as lead or asbestos or mercury, or other hazard to humans, there is little doubt that society long since would have demanded a stop to it, as society has done in denouncing hazards that are directly measurable in terms of physical illness or death.

3. The Commission was to hold public hearings to enable groups and organisations, individual citizens and representatives of the communications industry to make known their views on the subject. This was done. At 61 public hearings in towns and cities representing all regions of Ontario, entertainment television was the main target of criticism for violent content, followed by films, news in newspapers and on television, books, comic books,

magazines, rock music and radio. Written briefs, submissions or letters were received from more than 1,000 individuals and organisations. Most citizens, from octogenerians to school children, seemed to feel in their bones that no good, and perhaps considerable harm, could come to society when television, and, to a lesser extent other media, devoted so much time and space to brutality, from crime programmes to violent incidents in sports events. Entertainment television spokesmen entered no defence on moral or ethical grounds, obviously there being none to enter, but argued that competitively - to continue to make profits - they had no choice. They seemed to place profit above responsibility. News and other print media argued that their job was to report news and public affairs, violent and non-violent - or, in the case of books, that artistic freedom justified any seeming excesses.

4. The Commission was to make appropriate recommendations, if warranted, on measures to be taken by the Government of Ontario, by other levels of government, by the general public and by the communications industry. In working toward a set of recommendations once all hearings and foreign consultations were concluded, all new research finished, and all previous research assessed, the Commissioners had to come to grips with the attitudes formed in intensive association with the subject for more than two years. In every country where the subject had been examined, the great weight of research of all kinds, in many languages, indicated the potentially harmful effects of violent media content. This research had caused some governments to ban altogether certain programmes that are routinely seen in Canada. In addition, in the United States, the American Medical Association, the Parent-Teachers Associations (PTA) and Action for Children's Television (ACT) have put pressure on media industries to clean up their acts. The Ontario government and some major Canadian and American companies have given orders forbidding use of their television commercials in connection with violent fare. Advertising agencies - notably the world's largest, J Walter Thompson - have cautioned their clients against using violent vehicles for their advertising. So there seems to be an increased awareness and conviction in many parts of society that media violence is a social menace and, as such, must be dealt with. This confirms the opinions the Commission reached from its own work.

Many sources, both academic and industrial, contributed to a general picture of what caused the dramatic escalation in depicted violence. It was seen 50 years ago as a problem in radio. When television arrived as a major force 30 years ago (25 years ago in Canada), violence in comic books was under attack all over the western world, resulting in legislation that was eventually effective, at least for a time. But once television had appropriated much of the entertainment market, until then filled by films, radio and comic books, there occurred a curious kind of escalation of violence in which the main media components fed on one another to keep the cycle going.

Televison in its first decade pre-empted all the innocuous forms of entertainment that once had been the role of cert in family-type films. At the same time, it began to move in on another field occupied by films - entertainments generally based on crime or suspense - private detective programmes, westerns, police dramas. But in all these entertainment areas television had a special status. It was in the home, for all ages to watch. Therefore television began to write its own rules and enforce them through network standard offices that really, then and now, are censors.

Because television went straight into home living-rooms, even programmes that had ultra-violent content had to depict their murders or beatings without actually dwelling much on tortured, mashed-to-a-pulp victims, pools of blood, heads or limbs blown off or smashed. Violence was accepted, but it was sanitised so that it would not offend the consumer.

Films, looking for a way to recover some of their lost audiences, took over the most explicit violence. This was something films could do because their audiences were paying customers in cinemas rather than captive families in living-rooms. Films therefore carved out a new and quite different constituency than their earlier one, when movies ruled the family entertainment world. When these films in turn were sold to television networks, even with cuts, their scenes tended to be more explicitly violent than material made especially for television. Violent language, long restricted to some kinds of prose fiction, spread to films at approximately the same speed as violent physical acts. With audiences increasingly conditioned to accept this escalation in film violence, television censors began to agonise over, and sometimes allow, language and physical actions that they would have rejected out of hand not many years before. All commercial media are in the same business - delivering audiences for advertisers. Newspapers and magazines, competing with television for the attention of those audiences, modified some of their rules regarding what they could and could not say in print. Books remained more or less independent of this interaction, as did popular music, mainly because they had very few limits on their freedom of expression in any case. But it is possible in these general terms and specific ones, if necessary, to state that television's escalation of violent content has drawn some other media into more reliance on (as in the case of film and magazines) or tolerance of (as in the case of newspapers) increasingly explicit content. This escalation continues wherever it has not been curbed by governmental action. Even when, under pressure from government regulatory agency, major U.S. networks united in the family-hour concept to clear prime evening time of excessive violent content, the escalation went on.

The constantly increasing flow of television violence on U.S. networks and Canadian private networks and private stations (the publicly owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation has a better record), goes on at all hours, including times when children are watching. There is no doubt whatever, from the evidence from all sources, that this escalation is based on constant pressure to maximise audiences, in order to increase profits, and is done without regard for the effects on the audiences. To put it explicitly, it is the result of placing profit above social responsibility. Any other industry that is proved to be, or even suspected of, putting profits above the public good is challenged by governments or the public and brought to account.

The Commissioners believe that in this Report will be found some material that qualifies as proof that a danger to society exists, and a much greater amount justifying deep suspicion that a wrong may be being done to the quality of life of this and future generations of Canadians. The counter-arguments are known: that even cleaning up Canadian media would not change the flow of violent material across the border from the United States; that denying Canadian television networks the right to buy violent U.S. television programme at bargain-basement prices - a practice that leaves little room for Canadian material - would change Canadian television's profit picture to an extent that would lessen the amount of money available to develop Canadian programmes; even the argument that if Canadians stopped aping the U.S. in what is produced here, audiences would be lost. But isn't the whole game being lost anyway, when Canadian airwaves are used to promulgate a violent culture that once was alien to us but now rapidly is becoming, if it has not already become, the culture of Canada as well?

When the Commissioners looked at the fourth instruction,"to make appropriate recommendations, if warranted ..." the question had to be faced: is the situation dangerous enough to warrant the most spirited attempt to bring about change? We believe the answer is yes. We believe this because:

- We find that the great weight of research into the effects of violent media content indicates potential harm to society.

- We find a constantly increasing flow of television violence at all hours, including those when children are watching, in a cynical attempt to maximise audiences.

- We find that televisions's escalation of violence is drawing other sections of the media along like the tail of a comet.

- We find that Canadians generally are watching more and more U.S.-made television with much higher levels of violence than that produced here or anywhere else.

- We find that the trend points to more media violence in the future, unless it is arrested now and turned back - even if only to the extent that we, as Canadians, can do so.

- We find that, while the total crime rate may increase or decrease marginally year by year, violent crime is constantly on the rise.

- We believe that, while increased exploitation and depiction of violence in the media is only one of the many social factors contributing to crime, it is the largest single variable most amenable to rectification.

- We are concerned to alert the public and governments to the danger, and the communications industry to its social responsibility.

- We do not believe in censorship but we do believe in providing more and better alternatives for public entertainment, information and education, and we believe that it is only just to demand accountability beyond the balance sheet from those who take a profit from communications.

- We also believe that the public generally supports the above conclusions and, further, that the communications industry will resist substantial changes unless the full weight of legislative and public opinion is brought to bear, not only on the general issue, but on specific methods of eliminating the more flagrant of the potential dangers.

Having reached these conclusions, we respond to our mandate to offer recommendations in order that citizens, governments and the communications industry can face and deal with a problem that has the power and potential to disrupt Canada's social, cultural and intellectural environments.

B. RECOMMENDATIONS

The basic philosophy behind the Commission's recommendations is the Commissioners' conviction that the weight of both scientific research and public attitudes represents a widely based call for changes large and small within the communications industry, to make it more responsible and responsive to the long-term public interest. It is generally accepted that if anything is judged to be dangerous to an environment, its constant repetition or accumulation increases the likelihood of deleterious results. A fast-flowing river created the Grand Canyon. A buildup of mercury in a diet can make it injurious or even fatal. Air pollution is measured and factories are shut down when the pollution count is too high for public safety.

The same danger may be present when a massive diet of anti-social attitudes (as expressed, for instance, in heavy exposure to media-depicted violence) contributes to a decline in interpersonal acts and relationships that help cause violent crime in society.

The Commission's approach, therefore, is to reinforce the Canadian tradition of freedom of expression and creativity in the communications industry - but at the same time to demand a wider freedom of choice for the public, and also a greatly heightened dedication by the industry itself to higher quality and more attention to the public good. Freedom with accountability is the hallmark of democracy. Freedom with responsibility should not be an impossible goal. We believe from our two years of work that true media responsibility and accountability can lead to a higher level of freedom for all, the public as well as the media masters - although, so far, only the public appears to accept that idea 100 per cent. Putting the concept into effect may require a lot of time, thought and money. But the problem is urgent. Quality is always relative. Canadian quality - especially where it is most needed in the visual arts of television and film, which are dominated by the United States - has been spread far too thinly to prevent the cultural bleeding-to-death now well under way.

Because improving the effectiveness of the Canadian communications product has the connotation of making that product so good that it will reduce or exclude others by public choice, the recommendations must go far beyond the product to the way it is produced. This has been done, especially with regard to the television and film industries, but also in the practice of journalism. Therefore:

1. *The Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry recommends wide-scale changes in present procedures to the end that the communications industry, by diminishing the exploitation of violence, will reflect more accurately the quality of life to which most Canadians aspire. In excluding censorship as a basis for achieving such change, we suggest a path that we believe will provide more and better alternatives for public entertainment and enlightenment, while demanding more accountability from those who take a profit from communications.*

The public perceives television to be the major area of concern. This is so partly because Canada's broadcasting system - closely modelled on that of the United States in programming style - has chosen in content as well to be, at best, imitative of the U.S. system and, at worst, identical. Especially on private television, many time slots are filled with U.S. programmes, often violent. They can be bought much more cheaply than the best programmes that can be produced in Canada. The way of least resistance has been to allow them to dominate Canadian private television and, to a lesser extent, the publicly owned CBC. By abdicating responsibility for so much of each programme day, our broadcasting networks, CBC as well as private, have failed to provide the kind of service that fosters Canadian cultural values on a national scale.

2. *Because failure in the practice and thrust of Canadian television presents Canadians with more television violence than any other country except Canadian television's mother country, the United States, the Commission feels that a general inquiry into the future of Canadian broadcasting is urgently needed. Broadcasting requires restructuring, not only to reduce violent content, but in other ways as well, to make it more responsive to Canada's cultural identity. It is of prime importance that provision be made for public input in the discussion of a matter so essential to the survival of a national culture - and perhaps the nation - that it should not be determined by governments alone behind closed doors.*

Although it is the Commissioners' impression from its U.S. consultations that a major reconstruction of the U.S. broadcast system would not now be possible, it is not quite too late in Canada. The Commissioners do believe that a revolution might be required to bring Canadian television back into the service of Canadians and under real Canadian control; Commission research papers, as well as detailed studies of broadcasting systems in several European countries, may suggest, in whole or in part, alternatives to the present system.

Two forecasts are relevant here. One, drawn from a Commission research project, is that public funding of the CBC, now nearing $500 million a year, will rise to $2 billion annually over the next decade. Another is that the proliferation of cable systems throughout Canada, in the presence of new technology that will make even more rapid spread of cable feasible, is causing Canadian television, both public and private, to face a steady drain on its audience share, especially for Canadian-made programmes in the richest markets.

What can be done to arrest this erosion of what was intended to be an instrument to promote national unity? Alternatives that the Commission believes merit consideration are the ARD system of West Germany, IBA in the United Kingdom, and NOS in The Netherlands. All are explored in the Foreign Consultations section of this volume. Also, the model of minimum requirements for national broadcasting drawn up by the Council of Europe details aims that apply in most respects to Canada.

From the Commission's studies, it is clear that, for cultural and identity reasons, there is a need - and it is feasible - to have a multi-channel system. Such a system would aim at a national standard of broadcasting, with provincial and regional input and provision for public representation, the whole to be independent and autonomous, responsible to Parliament and not to the government of the day.

3. *Consequently, the Commission recommends a radically altered national television system, more sensitive to the needs of the public, including the diminution of depicted violence. The new system would eliminate existing Canadian broadcasting entities playing all Canadian television programming under public control of an organisation to be called Television Canada/Télévision-Canada to serve all Canadians with a multi-channel, publicly directed cable system to include U.S. and other imported programmes, but with a stricter control of violent content. It should offer a full range of programmes in both official languages, on channels specialised for light entertainment (including comedy, variety and action programmes), children's and youth programmes (including cartoons and news), sports and films, news and public affairs, specialised regional and community programming drama, music and documentaries. All programmes other than news would be produced by, and purchased from, independent producers. News programming would be produced by Television Canada itself.*

4. *The Commission recommends that, under such a system, Parliamentary subsidies be phased out; annual user fees, at approximately the same level as present cable-user fees, and advertising revenues would finance the system.*

The cost would be shifted from the taxpayer to the individual user at an acceptable rate that would provide a vastly diversified [illegible] Canadian service in which anti-social content, including violence, would have to meet stringent standards of relevance to plot or story lines, or not be shown.

5. ...

6. *The Commission recommends that Television Canada, the programming arm of such a new television structure, be completely independent and answerable only to Parliament.*

7 - 10 ...

11. *Recognizing that few Canadians would accept a monolithic approach to the broadcasting of news, the Commission recommends that the news mandate of Television Canada be to provide a basic objective news service only, with the necessary provision for diversity and dissent built in by use of mandatory periods for commentaries, features and other slants, from free-lance journalists and members of the public at large, or other relevant fields or professions. The aim: to give expression to all shades of perception and opinion, criticism or comment, on the main message of the news presentations.*

This would provide a full news and comment package with a view to diversity, rather than a monolithic approach. Because research shows that more people get their news from television than from any other source, and because of the agenda-setting function (telling people what is important), the Commission believes that diversity is essential.

12. *While such a massive overhaul of Canadian television is being planned and implemented, the Commission recommends that the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission be required to monitor programme content, especially for violence and other anti-social acts, as part of its procedure for issuing or renewing licences to use the publicly owned airwaves.*

The CRTC already exercises total control over engineering matters, but only limited control over content (the Canadian ratio and advertising). Can technical and engineering problems really be held to be of greater public importance than the material transmitted, when available knowledge indicates that some material is damaging to the public good? For example, if a television station regularly screens 40 murders a month in entertainment prime time, let the CRTC require it to justify such programming in terms of the public interest in which its licence was issued.

13 - 15 ...

16. *The Commission recommends that the Ontario government, through the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, empanel a group to devise a classification system to determine the suitability of television programmes for children's viewing and set up an advisory system to assist parents and other viewers.*

Such a classification system should be developed by calling upon expert consultants such as child psychologists and juvenile court judges, along with teachers, parents and widely representative groups concerned with the quality of family life. A variety of advisory systems exist: voice-over, subtitled warnings before some explicit scenes, or flashing symbols or lights used throughout some adult programmes shown when children might be watching. A newer concept is an on-screen host who introduces and explains material that may prove offensive or harmful. The Commissioners envision standardisation of such advisories so that they could also be published by use of a simple code: perhaps classified 4-V for the most violent, graded down to 1-V for minimum violence.

17. *The Commission recommends that such an advisory system, when developed, be adopted by the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission, which would require its implementation by all licensees and enforce its use by regular monitoring.*

18. *The Commission recommends an industry-wide ban on advertising in all television children's programmes, as is the case on the CBC and on TV Ontario.*

19. The Commission is aware of existing technology that would greatly help parents achieve more effective guidance and control over which television programmes their children watch. The Commission recommends that inexpensive tuning and locking devices, which can be pre-set by parents to channel or to programme, be further developed for attachment to home television sets.

20. The Commission recommends that such technological assistance be required by law to be standard on all Canadian sets sold after a certain date, as was done in the case of UHF receivers.

21 - 24 ...

25. Because the making of Canadian films is of paramount importance not only to the cinemas but in supplying Canadian material for television, the Commission recommends establishment of an organization called Film Canada that would incorporate the existing film institutions such as the National Film Board and the Canadian Film Development Corporation, archives and libraries. Film Canada would coordinate, with other levels of government and their agencies, a truly coherent film-aid policy.

26 - 34 ...

35. The Commission recommends a strong policy in Film Canada of financing worthwhile films - not including those that exploit violence, horror, and sex - from the idea level through to final editing, including grants for script-writing, travel and research, toward making usable products for both cinemas and television. This financing would be by way of a flexible, selective system including grants, loans and guarantees, and assistance in the promotion, distribution and exhibition of the film product.

36. The Commission recommends that the wholly controlled production arm of Film Canada (the National Film Board) leave adult feature films to private film production companies that are bound to flourish under such a liberalised support policy, and concentrate on documentaries, shorts, children's films and animation, for both cinema use and television.

37 - 43 ...

44. The Commission believes that for the print media to achieve accountability beyond the balance sheet, changes will be required that can be best accomplished within a statutory framework. Accordingly, the Commission recommends that a national Freedom of Expression Act be written specifically to outlaw pre-censorship by government authority of all public communications, either broadcast or printed. The Act would also define the limits of free expression: libel, obscenity, breach of the Official Secrets Act, matters affecting the defence of Canada, treason, sedition, or promulgating information that leads to incitement of crime or violence.

45. The Commission recommends that this Act be embedded in the Canadian Constitution when it is patriated, to take precedence over existing provincial and federal statutes.

46. To ensure watchdog protection for the public and the communications industry under the Freedom of Expression Act, the Commission recommends institution of a national Media Council representing both the communications industry and the public, on a statutory basis, headed by a National Media Ombudsman, to receive and act upon complaints of contravention of the Freedom of Expression Act, and to protect that freedom from attack.

47. *The Commission recommends that the national Media Council be set up in line with procedural recommendations stemming from a national conference of organizations concerned with the quality of Canadian life, especially those that do not feel the news media are properly filling their real or implied mandate to contribute constructively to the Canadian social environment.*

The conference would include representatives of the communications industry as well as of organisations involved in civil liberties, human rights, social welfare, labour, education, law enforcement, medicine and other relevant professions or organisations that already have frequent contacts, some for purposes of criticism, with the media.

48. *The Commission recommends that the Council and its head, the national Media Ombudsman, be funded by Parliament and be responsible to Parliament and not to the government of the day.*

Canadian precedents for the appointment of an officer responsible to Parliament rather than to the government of the day exist in the practices followed in the appointments of the Federal Chief Electoral Officer and Auditor General; and in Ontario of the Provincial Ombudsman and the chairman of the Committee on Election Contributions and Expenses.

49. *The Commission recommends that the national Media Ombudsman be an outstanding Canadian, probably with judicial background but, in any event, with a reputation for fairness and responsiveness, because the purpose of the position is to protect the principle of free expression in all media and to protect the public from media excesses.*

50. *The Commission recommends that the national Media Council write and enforce a code of ethics emphasising the four main elements of news responsibility: fairness, accuracy, relevance and completeness.*

51. *To make such a council more directly responsive to public complaints, the Commission recommends that each broadcasting outlet, newspaper or periodical be required to nominate a responsible editor or other senior executive who could be called to account for any offence against the Freedom of Expression Act or breach of the code of ethics.*

52. ...

53. ...

54. *The Commission recommends that the national Media Council publish its judgments as a form of accumulating jurisprudence on media practices, for reference and study.*

55. *The Commission recommends that the national Media Council be empowered to receive complaints about all media, including films, song lyrics on records and as broadcast by radio, comic books, and media coverage of live theatre and concerts.*

56. *The Commission recommends that complaint procedures be cost-free to the complainant and that the national Media Council set up a nationwide system to receive complaints.*

57. ...

58. *The Commission recommends that the provinces take steps to appoint statutory provincial press councils and media ombudsmen if the federal government fails to do so.*

59. ...

60. *The Commission recommends that news industries and universities work together to expand and reinforce a more professional approach to journalism, including a mandatory training system along the lines of the on-the-job apprenticeship now required in Ontario for teachers, social workers, students of law and medicine.*

The aim would be to have those intending to make a profession of journalism work for certain set periods in newsrooms. Part of the time would be spent in learning the philosophy and provisions of the Freedom of Expression Act, gaining knowledge of Canada and the world, and absorbing the basics of news presentation - fairness, accuracy, relevance and completeness - along with a thorough grounding in the legal restraints, such as libel and contempt, that now apply to journalism.

61. *The Commission recommends that such a professional development system be supported by provincial governments, perhaps under departments of education, as are training techniques for teachers and social workers - two professions to which, the Commission's research showed, many journalists liken themselves and their role in society.*

62. *The Commission recommends that newspaper and magazine publishers, as well as broadcasters and filmmakers, familiarize themselves with current social research on the impact of the media, including the depiction of violence, and measure performance against what is known of the potential effect on social behaviour, guarding against promulgating material injurious to the physical or mental health of the public.*

This would include consideration of the impact of print or broadcast news on violent events in which the media are used by the perpetrators of violence to further their own ends. Regular non-crisis liaison between media and police forces for information purposes and possible action might obviate situations where police feel that media activities exacerbate already difficult situations. Police forces, on their part, should designate high-level officers to supply accurate information during and after such action.

63. *The Commission recommends that all news media review their performance in putting events into proper context - meaning that reports should contain relevant backgrounding so they enhance, rather than confuse, public understanding.*

Because newspapers particularly tend to play up violent crimes such as rapes or murders in which the victims are not known to the criminals, there is a well-documented public belief that most murders are committed by people who do not know their victims. The truth is opposite: most murders and rapes involve people who are acquainted. Most rapes take place in the home of the rapist or the victim, and most real violence takes place in families. News media treatment has caused the public to believe that such places as parking garages, parks, dark streets and subways are the principal sites for such crimes, when that is not the case at all.

64. *The Commission recommends that publishers and broadcasters devise news reports or summaries specifically directed to children's needs, and thus counter the pronounced drift of young people away from the traditional methods of learning about world events.*

Research indicates that few children read newspapers or watch or listen to broadcast news. Major European and American broadcast systems that have tailored news segments especially for children have gained high audiences.

65. *The Commission recommends that the Ontario government encourage the development of public and high school courses on mass media, and the addition of new instruction designed to promote media literacy at all school levels - public and high school, university and extension class programmes - and the use of media as part of literature and history courses.*

Our intent is not that these be professionally oriented courses, but that they be designed to promote better understanding of individual media biases, political and commercial, and to enhance public ability to digest the media diet - for instance, to do so without accepting as truth everything they see, hear or read. The dominant medium of our time is the film, on television or in cinemas; it is as appropriate to study that medium as it is to study print.

66. *While the Commission heard dozens of criticisms of violence in televised hockey, our examination of the subject indicated that the Canadian Sports Network, which owns broadcast rights, follows a policy of covering a violent incident on-air only as it happens. Directors are instructed to show replays only to the point where the violence began, to inform the audience how it started. The Commission recommends that this policy be continued, but that in situations seen by the director as being excessively violent, on-air shots be selected that do not cover the violence directly, using the delay before a normal replay to decide how much of the actuality should be shown.*

67. *The Commission recommends that the Ontario government makes its TV Ontario network province-wide, to provide wider choice to the taxpayers who support it, particularly because TVO excels in non-violent programming.*

68. ...

69. *The Commission recommends that adult film censorship be abolished in Ontario, and that a Film Classification Board be appointed to classify films by age levels for children and youth.*

70. *The Commission recommends that the Film Classification comprise a small professional group assisted by rotating panels of interested volunteers drawn from different parts of the province and with expert consultants called upon as needed.*

**The Commission would prefer film classification on a national basis, either by a Canadian classification office or by consultation between classification officers from province to province, with a view to providing a national standard that also would apply to films shown on television and on Canadian airlines.**

71. *The Commission recommends that films be classified in Ontario on the basis of their themes, especially in regard to anti-social content. One category, open to anyone, should present sex only within the terms of a loving relationship; violence only when demonstrably in the service of maintaining law and order, with right and wrong clearly defined and the broadly practised social mores unchallenged. A second category, open to anyone above the age 12, should allow social themes beyond the normal comprehension of children, but should portray sex outside the context of loving relationships only as a secondary theme. In this category explicit sex should be seen only in the confines of loving interaction; violence should never be preferred as a problem-solving choice; clear definitions of right and wrong should be offered. The third category, for those 18 and over, should be specifically adult in concept, counting on the ability of adults to distinguish between right and wrong, perhaps challenging social, sexual and violence mores, but never in a gratuitous, excessive way unrelated to the needs of the film. In this category there would be no restriction of admissions for anyone 18 or over. All film classifying would be subject to an appeal procedure by the producer or distributor.*

72. *The Commission recommends that the Ontario government devise a system to enforce the spirit of film classification by regular checks on cinema audiences.*

**There should be enforcement of age limits described by the classification process.**

73. *The Commission recommends that the Film Classification Board's mandate include classification of all promotional material, including television and cinema trailers, newspaper and radio advertisements, with mandatory inclusion of film classifications in all such material.*

74. *The Commission recommends that the Ontario government devise a model by-law for municipal control of the operation of drive-in theatres, to diminish incidence of young viewers watching films not suited to their age groups.*

75. *The Commission recommends that the Ontario government negotiate with the other provinces to seek a uniform system of film classification across the country.*

While community standards may vary in a country with such a diverse cultural, economic, social and geographic makeup, television and film material that is hazardous to the well-being of children and youth in one part of Canada will have the same effect on them in other parts.

76. *The Commission recommends that the Ontario government require screening textbooks for content that does psychological violence or provides violent role models.*

77. *The Commission recommends that Canadian airlines screen in-flight movies, having regard to the fact that violent and other anti-social content in films shown may not be suitable for young persons in the captive audience.*

78. *The Commission recommends that television scheduling of films reflect the Film Classification Board's age code, to the effect that unsuitable films not be broadcast at times when children might be watching.*

79. ...

80. *The Commission recommends that all levels of government promote public understanding of the findings of scientific research regarding the effects of media content, with a view to making the public more critical and selective in its media consumption.*

This might be done by including promotional material in federal government mailings of Family Allowances and pensions, and in similar provincial and municipal mailings.

81. *As a corollary to the above and considering the seriousness of the subject, the Commission recommends that a government-supported mass media publicity and advertising campaign be established, similar to those already conducted for such issues as the status of women, construction safety, alcohol abuse, and tobacco addiction.*

This one, focused on media violence, would state the issues and the dangers as do the other campaigns, and then leave it up to the individual to act. Or not act.

82. *The Commission recommends that all the above recommendations be carried out by appropriate levels of government, industry or society, but that, in any case where the federal government does not act in matters under its jurisdiction, the Ontario government does so to the full extent of its own power.*

The Commission recognises that one of the most deeply sought goals of parents is to influence the moral, as well as the physical, development of their children and that this need is deepened by the eroded influence of the church and school on today's youngsters. The Commissioners also understand that it is impracticable for parents to monitor every moment of their children's media intake. Media spokesmen who insist that parents are totally responsible for what their children see or hear are simply avoiding their own role in today's unsatisfactory media diet. The recommendations recognise, however, that parents have some part to play and that many are eager to do so. They are a response to the cries for help we heard from people and are meant to assist them in exercising their responsibility.

83. *The Commission recommends that parents take an active role with respect to their children's media diet.*

Research makes it clear that parents can lessen the potentially harmful impact of the media, especially television, by pointing out those themes, ideas or actions that violate the family's own standards. Parents should:

- wherever possible, treat television as a shared activity in which the adult provides guidance and safety (in much the same way responsible mothers and fathers insist on accompanying their small chilren through dangerous traffic)

- at the very least, make sure they know what their children are watching by sampling programmes seen regularly by the child (sitcoms, action and police dramas, sporting events)

- discuss selections with the children so they understand parental approval or disapproval of a programme's content

- understand and be guided by advisory or classification systems as these are instituted

- give serious attention to the number of hours and overall quality of their children's television consumption

The purpose of parental supervision of television is to guarantee each child a balanced life and the development of a wholesome value system incorporating reading, playing and creativity, as well as the ingestion of television.

84. *The Commission recommends that parents read movie advertisements, reviews and classifications carefully to learn about films their children plan to see.*

The responsibility for supervising the youngster's media intake doesn't change with the size of the screen.

85. *The Commission recommends that parents insist that cinemas adhere to the law governing the admission of children to adult, restricted or otherwise classified films.*

In order to ensure the greatest amount of freedom in film choice for adults, parents will have to make certain that youngsters are protected from movies that are inappropriate and potentially damaging.

86. ...

87. *The Commission recommends that in furtherance of Recommendation 59, its research library, all relevant supporting material, public briefs and surveys, be deposited with a degree-granting Ontario institution. Factors such as accessibility to and by the community, scholars and the media should be born in mind, as well as the willingness of such an institution to develop programmes that will fully utilise this material.*

*The Commission recommends an annual provincial grant be provided in order to ensure the maintenance and development of this unique collection.*

To bring these recommendations back to the terms of this Commission's mandate, we believe that however it is done, there is an urgent need for broad public discussion of the possibility, and potential value, of making substantial changes in that part of our environment that has to do with the mind.

Governments, the communications industry, teachers, parents, children - almost everybody has gone along all but unaware of the effects of the media, including the possible harm to each of us.

Two years of work and recommendations by one Royal Commission are not the end of the matter.

In fact, this Commission must be seen as a beginning - a way of examining a complex aspect of the environment and its effect on society. This Report offers an opportunity for the people of this province - and of Canada - to make up their own minds about what they want of the media and how they can get what they want.

The end of the matter rests with them.

## 6.2. RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE CDCC SYMPOSIUM ON THE SECONDARY SCHOOL AND THE MASS MEDIA

(Grenoble, 1981)

The symposium, after defining the media as:

"Any means of unidirectional communication used by an individual or a small group of persons to pass a message to an unlimited number of receivers",

considering:

- that adults and young people live in a perpetually changing world, in which the media are increasingly important, and
- that school, whose function is to help children become free, responsible citizens, must urgently concern itself with giving them a thorough grounding in the mass media, as it has, in part, started doing in certain countries,

concluded by submitting the following proposals:

1. A mass media education

i. Spoken and written language is basic to the individual's general education, and must remain so, but educators should concern themselves with mass media education for the young, and receive the necessary means;

ii. parents and adults should be advised of the importance of the media in young people's lives, so that, through their relations/contact with the young, they can help enrich their use of the media;

iii. at all levels of schooling, comprehensive media education (covering the press, radio, television and film) should be introduced. Like all learning, learning about the media necessarily creates a role for the educator, who develops the skills users need to make better use of the media;

iv. this specifically media education should be seen as quite distinct from the use of media as visual aids (which have traditionally been regarded as neutral and transparent carriers of messages).

2. Use of the image in teaching

i. At all levels of education, it should be possible for teaching to incorporate media material, whatever its form, nature or provenance, care being taken to ensure that it is perfectly suited to the target audience and the subject taught;

ii. Pedagogically, the image has various points:

- it is a stimulus to education of the eye and to visual culture;

- as well as being a powerful illustrator, it is valuable as simile, as symbol and in terms of imaginative appeal;

- it is motivating, by virtue of its close connection with the affective and cognitive domains;

iii. central to the education process, the image could be a potential help, in particular to compensatory education for young people from disadvantaged backgrounds, insofar as, between the two types of education, there is dynamic interchange which is vital to the formation of basic mental structures;

iv. as a means of self expression, the image should enable young people, the disadvantaged especially, to become communicators.

3. Media teaching

3.1 The aims of media teaching should be to:

i. train pupils to extract information from the messages put across by the various media. This should develop their interest in the current scene and in information about public life, with a view to encouraging them to participate in public affairs;

ii. foster a discriminating attitude towards media messages, ie develop an understanding of symbols and codes, and thus an ability to maintain critical distance (de-mythologising in some cases);

iii. develop awareness of the media's function in spreading knowledge, cultural heritage and shaping society's ideas;

iv. teach pupils to produce images, a knowledge of audio-visual techniques and language being the basic prerequisite if the media are to be accessible to each and every citizen, for transmitting, as well as reception purposes, as one facet of democratic participation in social life.

3.2 Media education methods should include:

i. comparative analysis of the various media messages, attention being drawn to subject matter and the way it is handled;

ii. analysis of audio-visual idiom (sounds, images and combination of the two);

iii. analysis of the various types of programme;

iv. analysis of the media differences in the treatment of identical subject matter (eg adaptation of the novel).

These different analyses could lead to theoretical and practical work to give young people a better command of codes and enable them to participate in media culture.

This media instruction, designed to make the young genuinely autonomous in their use of the media, should be allowed to remain highly open-ended; it should foster, through dialogue, the confrontation of students with the message; teachers have no monopoly on knowledge or meaning.

A shortage of technical resources should not prevent altogether the introduction of the media at school, since a number of activities require only limited resources.

Nevertheless, secondary school classes ought to be equipped with cameras, tape recorders, video cassette recorders and colour television sets. These tools make for flexibility and ease of use, and make it easier to cope with the inflow of televised messages.

4. Training the teachers

All teachers are entitled to:

i. thorough initial and in-service training, as a matter of priority, to equip them with the theoretical and practical knowledge they need for this type of teaching, and to be involved in drawing up the relevant training syllabuses;

ii. respect for a code of professional practice based on the principles of neutrality and objectivity, and to safeguards concerning their professional freedoms and rights;

iii. recognition of their right to exercise educational initiative and of their competence to research their own praxis, eg as members of an educational team.

This training calls for:

i. university and training college, and training institutions in general, curricula which include training in communication (oral, written and audio-visual) and in group work;

ii. co-operation with media practitioners (involving seminars and meetings attended by teachers, parents, youth and community workers and adult educators).

Lastly, in view of the proliferation and variety of media, scientific surveys are needed to assess the various aspects of the media's impact on society, confrontation with other cultures, particularly their effect on young people's development.

## 6.3. DECLARATION ON PREPARATION FOR LIFE

(CDCC Conference, Strasbourg 1982)

The participants at the final Conference of the CDCC's Project, "Preparation for life", which was held in the Council of Europe, Strasbourg, from 24-28 May 1982,

Considering that Western Europe is undergoing a period of unprecedented and accelerating change, even of crisis, which varies in intensity from region to region;

Believing that the future of European society depends on the ability and willingness of all its members:

(i) to accept, preserve and promote human values, democracy and Human Rights; to show a sense of belonging to Europe and a sense of solidarity with the rest of the world; and to work for peace;

(ii) to understand and respect others; to be tolerant; to recognise the right to be different; and to combat prejudice;

(iii) to resolve conflict in an open and democratic manner;

(iv) to display positive attitudes towards learning and work;

(v) to master the information explosion; and to adopt discriminating attitudes towards the messages of the mass media and advertising;

(vi) to take an informed stand on complex and important scientific and technological issues;

(vii) to display a sense of stewardship towards the environment;

(viii) to respond with initiative to changing situations, including different patterns of employment;

Believing that these requirements can only be met by independent and responsible men and women;

Believing that, although the school is not the only source of education, it has, more than ever before, a crucial role to play in forming independent and responsible individuals;

Aware that many young people today are deeply concerned about the future, their roles in society and their chances of vocational training and work;

Noting that, in preparing young people for life in society, special attention should be paid to their needs in the years just before and just after the end of compulsory education because:

(i) these years are a period of intensive personal and social development;

(ii) during them, all young people have to take momentous decisions about their future;

(iii) in many member States, young people reach the age of majority a few years after the end of compulsory schooling;

RECOMMEND that, with due respect to the educational priorities of member States, and to regional, social, economic, cultural and individual diversity:

A. Education systems should give all young people the opportunity to acquire essential knowledge, skills and attitudes in the following key areas, which are closely interdependent:

(i) life in a democratic society. This should include Human Rights and fundamental freedoms, the duties and responsibilities of citizens, and politics and economics;

(ii) personal life. This should include: fundamental values, personal and family relations, and personal decision-making;

(iii) working life. In the compulsory school, preparation for working life should strengthen young people's knowledge of technology. It should include not only a theoretical introduction to the nature and forms of work, but also real work experience. Careers education should be concerned with a broad perspective on working life. In technical and vocational studies, specialisation should be carried out gradually after training in the elements which are common to the field in question. All young people are entitled to vocational training;

(iv) cultural life. This should include an introduction to the cultural, spiritual, historical and scientific heritage, and preparation for life in a multi-cultural society. The concept of culture should be interpreted in a broad sense and should cover young people's own culture. Culture and real life should be given their rightful place in the teaching of all subjects. Preparation for cultural life should enable young people to find sources of personal enrichment and to participate actively in cultural life.

Schools should also anticipate further studies and training by including counselling on the possibilities offered by training schemes and by higher and adult education in a perspective of lifelong education.

B. There should be a partnership between the school and other social institutions. In particular, the following should interact with the school:

(i) the family, through close co-operation with parents;

(ii) the local community, through: community involvement in the life of the school; voluntary social service by young people; and environmental improvement projects;

(iii) political and social institutions, through: discussions with leaders of public opinion, political parties, and interest groups; the study of, and visits to, local and national public institutions; and appropriate out-of-school activities;

(iv) other countries, through wide-ranging personal contacts, exchanges, and school twinning and correspondence. This will involve the knowledge of foreign languages;

(v) the world of work, through work experience and contacts with representatives of employers and of trade unions;

(vi) the world of culture in the widest sense, through active participation in social, sports and cultural clubs as well as through contacts with experts and visits to museums, art galleries, concerts, the theatre, the cinema, laboratories, and mass media centres.

C. Pupils should be encouraged to involve themselves actively and increasingly in their preparation for life, by being given opportunities:

(i) to participate in informed decision-making and to engage in dialogue and negotiation with those responsible for their education;

(ii) to assume responsibilities towards themselves, their classmates, their school, their family, their peer-groups and their community;

(iii) to practise forms of delegation and representation;

(iv) to join school councils and informal students' groups.

D. The organisation, curricula and atmosphere of schools in member States should reflect the spirit of this Declaration. Those responsible should be given the support, stimulus and resources to undertake the tasks implied by Sections A, B and C. In particular, this should include:

(i) pre- and in-service training in sensitive democratic leadership and the ability to use as a resource pupils from different cultural and social backgrounds;

(ii) training in counselling and guidance;

(iii) pre- and in-service opportunities for exchanges and for experience of the world of work, as well as regular information about careers and developments in the labour market.

E. Member States should take full account of the proposals contained in this Declaration in their policies for young people. There should be a guarantee that, at the end of compulsory education, all young people should be offered either a job or further education or training. Special efforts should be made for vulnerable and disadvantaged groups. As policies for young people often concern several ministries and departments within ministries, member States should review the existing links between them and take all necessary measures to ensure the coherence of such policies.

F. In implementing the proposals contained in this Declaration, educational authorities in member States should take special care not to overload school curricula and timetables. Furthermore, schools and teachers should be given sufficient flexibility and time to apply these proposals.

G. Member States should examine and undertake a policy of dissemination, particularly by publications and seminars, of the information and ideas contained in the reports and studies prepared for the CDCC's Project, "Preparation for life".

## 6.4. UNEMPLOYMENT AND VIOLENCE

Christian de Montlibert

The outbreak of violence in regions affected by the economic crisis in the wake of large-scale redundancies suprised observers, no doubt because they discovered that the (albeit relative) pacification evident in inter-personal relations (to which the fall in "blood crimes" since the turn of the century bears witness) did not function as effectively in relations between social groups as the institutionalisation of trade union/employer relations and the state's self-proclaimed monopoly of the role of arbeiter might have led them to believe.

The spread of the economic crisis and changes in location of industry could, as we know, well make this kind of situation more common; it is therefore vital that we understand its underlying logic. In this context, a study of the situation in the iron and steel area of north-eastern France in 1978-79 may provide clues as to the mechanism and processes productive of violence and confrontation between social groups. In December 1978 the management of the Usinor and Sacilor steel companies announced the plant closures in the Nord and in Lorraine: at Longwy, between 14,000 and 15,000 redundancies were anticipated. By analysing reactions, it is possible to grasp the significance of the outbreaks of violence.

The redundancies in question were to affect a population that was relatively badly off, worn down by the many largely unsuccessful struggles of previous years and relatively weakened by its internal divisions and by differences in attitudes resulting from a diversity of geographical origins. The redundancies shattered the cohesion of groups and undermined social organisation. Families and their interests were directly affected and neighbourhood groupings, families and teams of workers in particular workshops are split up, leaving each individual with a deep sense of helplessness and, in some cases, of loss of social identity.

In this situation the town and the region were to become the centres of resistance and symbols to be defended. This movement obviously had economic roots, but its identification with the region was also a result of the residual collective memory of worker struggles and the old practices employed to tie the labour force down. To defend the region was to defend a collective identity that was the property of even the worst-off and the only common denominator in this situation.

The violence was neither deliberately organised nor the spontaneous reaction of individuals deprived of their livelihoods but rather the outcome of a situation that was seen as a calamity, represented by images of death and characterised by a "social vacuum" brought about by the absence of organised forces.

In these circumstances, major demonstrations of the "ville morte" type (demonstrators demonstrating in silence, bells tolling, shops and public buildings closed) brought together a population which, by publicly expressing its gloom, sought to overcome its isolation and re-discover its collective, vital strength. To demonstrate together was to share in a fellowship of sadness and, at the same time, to recover one's ability to fight off despondency. The community found renewed strength in the process. The trade unions played a vital role here, enabling the many groups that had split and disintegrated to become re-established in a wider community.

On the fringes of these majo: demonstrations there appeared two types of violence - transgressive violence and group violence in self-defence. Acts of transgressive violence were more often than not perpetrated by young, unemployed manual workers and gave rise to short-lived jubilation at the almost magical reversal of the usual pattern of domination. Violence by groups in self-defence was often a response to police methods that were considered offensive to the groups' honour.

But this kind of self-regeneration in situations of economic and social crisis, which alone is able, by renewing the community's strength, to prevent social collapse, is a fragile process under continuous challenge from the strategies and acts of the other social groups once a "social vacuum" is created.

Alongside the violence associated with these demonstrations of grief, there developed other forms of violence - often equally paradoxical, but localised - provoked by the "social vacuum" in which the populations of these regions found themselves. At first and for a period of several months, iron and steel industry managements and the state stayed silent (three months were to pass before the first negotiations took place). The decision-makers seemed remote, operating in accordance with an economic-cum-technocratic logic very different from the logic that normally governed relations with the local mangagers of the iron and steel industry. This social vacuum was reinforced by the impression that the major demonstrations had been ineffective. This led to the perpetration of acts of violence by small groups organised as "commando units" which occupied telephone exchanges and marshalling yards, tipped the goods from trains onto railway tracks and stopped lorries and barges; in so doing, they matched the "employers' violence" they condemned with a "regional guerrilla strategy" proclaimed in virtually prophetic language.

The social vacuum also gave birth to many kinds of rivalry. Transfers, the payment of allowances and enforced early retirement often, in the short term, served only to intensify the various struggles by further fuelling rivalries. As rivals sought to outdo each other, new forms of violence occurred over which society could exert little control, since the groups responsible for illegal acts of this sort were ever smaller and more isolated.

Social and economic calamities bring about major upheavals in a community. The resulting social death is undoubtedly less bearable than death caused by a catastrophe. When the social vacuum is accentuated, many kinds of violence can develop. Institutions capable of controlling this type of situation have, for the most part, still to see the light of day.

## 6.5. ARCHITECTURAL VIOLENCE

Nic Tummers

*"L'utopia amorosa nasce dall'impotenza"*
*Antonio Porta "Metropolis"*

My contribution to the discussion is directed at the elements that are part of the scenery of violence;
the influence of the place where violence (often) occurs;
the challenge that radiates from the places of action and its design.

For this description I shall borrow the definition of Dr Keim of the Berlin "Institut für Urbaniatik": Stadt als Dramaturg von Gewalt

We should not see urbanisation as just a neutral functional system that orders the relations between home, work, recreation and traffic, but also as the support of social relations, positive and/or negative. Inside that urban pattern we encounter moreover the form-language of architecture that affects the daily philosophy of the lives of its residents.

It is not only that the neglected living situations - as we can see from the different reports - have a challenging influence on the social underdog and lead to resistance that can escalate into violence, but also new conceptions, topical subjects, may entail a form of violent oppression, and play the part of silent structural violence that provocates active violen resistance.

Take for example the Basilique du Sacré Coeur in Paris, that by the law of 23 July 1873 was built as an admonishing token to the struggle for freedom of the Communards of Montmartre. Every year in May that construction has been answered by counterattacks.

The Lincoln Center in New York is another such example. By federal law it was decided that this scene of the movie picture "West Side Story" was to be demolished and in its stead an extremely provocative complex of Mussolinian cultural palaces was built.

The People's Park in Berkely University of California is another example and, most certainly so, the manoeuvre of the Atlantic Community Development Group for Latin America to dislodge 1000 posseiros in Trindade (Brasil) for the sake of luxurious tourist resorts.

In the Netherlands we also have such an example: the so-called Stopera in Amsterdam.

These are examples of sanctioned structural violence in the area occupied by a building and in its shape. Here, in this hearing, we should also take into account this reblooming of disreputable "Haussmannism". Sometimes, it appears in the most apalling expressionlesness, sometimes in the most overbearing hugeness.

In the Netherlands the Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work looks after the design of public spaces and surroundings for daily life.

Questions regarding alienation from environment and alienation of identification are part of that care. As yet practical policy does not involve carrying out extensive test programmes by enlisting design artists and with the participation of residents and users.

Art, of course, is no remedy and no remedy against violence, but in urban design a role can be found for artists and the urban form is a far from negligible factor in the incitement to certain forms of public violence.

Some of the first reactions against this kind of structural violence are the activities of graffitists.
We can call them with Jean Baudrillard "the litanies of subversivity".
And to give another example - the present régime in Turkey classes graffiti as terrorism!

To summarise, I think that in our recommendations we should pay attention to the influence that radiates from urban and architectural forms that indeed may incite to violence.

Authorities and designers should be shown that the origin of the violence that they are seeking to banish, can in the first place be found in their own action and activities.

# 7. LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

(a) Members of the Parliamentary Assembly

President Mr de AREILZA (Spain)

President of the Italian delegation, Mr de POI

Committee on Culture and Education

| | | Alternates |
|---|---|---|
| Mr AANO, Chairman | Norway | Mr THORESEN |
| Mr MÜller G., Vice-Chairman | Fed. Rep. of Germany | Mr LENZER |
| Mrs de AZEVEDO, Vice-Chairman | Portugal | Mr QUEIROZ |
| Mr ALEMYR | Sweden | Mrs HÅVIK |
| Mrs ANER | Sweden | Mr BJÖRCK |
| Mr BARTHE | France | Mr BAUMEL |
| Mr BEITH | United Kingdom | Mr ATKINSON |
| Mr BÜCHNER | Fed. Rep. of Germany | Mr HORN |
| Mr BUTTIGIEG | Malta | - |
| Mr CANTIENI | Switzerland | Mr DUPONT |
| Mr CIRICI | Spain | Mr LABORDA |
| Mr DE BONDT | Belgium | Mr DE DECKER |
| Mr DELEHEDDE | France | Mr BEIX |
| Lord DUNCAN-SANDYS | United Kingdom | Mr JESSEL |
| Mr GADIENT | Switzerland | Mr MUHEIM |
| Mr GOURLAY | United Kingdom | Mr McGUIRE |
| Mrs HAWLICEK | Austria | Mr REINHART |
| Mr HOYAUX | Belgium | Mr ADRIAENSENS |
| Mrs HUBINEK | Austria | Mr FRISCHENSCHLAGER |
| Mr JOHANNSSON | Iceland | - |
| Mr KRIEPS | Luxembourg | Mr PRUSSEN |
| Miss LAMBRAKI | Greece | Mr KTENAS |
| Mr McMAHON | Ireland | Mr FLANAGAN O.J. |
| Mr MAYOUD | France | Mr PIGNION |
| Mr OEHRI | Liechtenstein | Mr BECK |
| Mr OESTERGAARD | Denmark | Mr HOLST |
| Mrs PACK | Fed. Rep. of Germany | Mr REDDEMANN |
| Mr ROMANO' | Italy | Mr TRIPODI |
| Mr RUPEREZ | Spain | Mr LOPEZ-HENARES |
| Miss SAMPAIO | Portugal | Mr ALEGRE |
| Mr SPITELLA | Italy | Mr ACRIMI |
| Mr STERPA | Italy | Mr FIANDROTTI |
| Mr TSIOUPLAKIS | Greece | Mr VOYATZIS |
| Mr TUMMERS | Netherlands | Mr WORRELL |
| Mr van der WERFF | Netherlands | Mr van der SANDEN |
| Mr AMARAL | Portugal | |
| Mr LEON | Spain | |

Political Affairs Committee

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr CALAMANDREI | Italy |

Legal Affairs Committee

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr GRIEVE | United Kingdom |

Committee on Social and Health Questions

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr EIJSINK | Netherlands |

(b) Consultant Experts, Observers and other Contributors

Prof. William BELSON, Survey Research Centre London;
41 York Mansion, Prince of Wales Drive, GB - LONDON SW 11

Mr Robert BLACKLEDGE, Chairman of the UK Centre for European Education; The Cobbles, GB - Hanging Langford, Wiltshire (Rapporteur for the CDCC project on preparation for life)

Mr Bernard BLIN, Responsible for external relations of TF1 (France); 17 rue de l'Arrivée, F - 75015 PARIS (Chairman of the Council of Europe intergovernmental committee of experts on media policy: MM-PO)

Mr Bo CARLSSON, Principal Ombudsman for Children, Rädda Barnen (Sweden); Österskärsvägen, S - 18 402 OSTERSKÄR (General Rapporteur at the Hearing in Assisi)

Prof. Andrea CAMMELLI, Italian Section of the Council of European Municipalities, AICCE, Piazza Trevi, 86, I - 00137 ROME (Cultural Committee of the Conference of Local and Regional Authorities)

Mr Jacqui COTTYN, Secretary General, International Falcon Movement; 13 Place du Samedi, Bte 12, B - 1000 BRUSSELS (Chairman of the Governing Board of the European Youth Centre, Strasbourg)

Mr Victor COUCKE, Secretary General of the Council for Professional Photographers (EUROPHOT); Postbus 366, B - 2000 ANTWERP

Mr Adam CURLE, Quaker Council for European Affairs;
28 avenue de la Brabançonne, B - 1040 BRUSSELS

Mr André DRUBAY, Secretary General, International Federation of Secondary Teachers (FIPESO); 7 [illegible] Villersexel, F - 75007 PARIS

Miss Laurence EBERHARD, Christian Movement for Peace;
46, rue de Vaugirard, F - 75006 PARIS

Mr Georges FILIBEK, Member of the Pontifical Committee on Justice and Peace (Holy See), I - VATICAN CITY

Mr Richard FRANCIS, Managing Director of BBC-Radio;
Broadcasting House, GB - LONDON W1

Prof. Dr. Friedrich HACKER, Institute on Conflict Research,
Lisztstrasse 3, A - 1030 VIENNA

Prof. Ilkka HEISKANEN, Professor of Political Sciences;
Helsinki University, Aleksanterinkatu 7, SF - 00100 HELSINKI

Mr Pierre HENQUET, Unesco, Communications Sector, 7, Place de Fontenoy, F - 75007 PARIS

Mr Ugo LEONE, Deputy Director, United Nations Social Defence Research Institute; Via Giulia 52, I - 00186 ROME

Dott. Felice LIOY, Director, European Advertising Tripartite (EAT);
Via Larga 13, I - 20122 MILAN

Mr Nicholas McGEORGE, Principal Psychologist, UK Prison Service, (also representing the Quaker Council for European Affairs),
Hawthorne House, 16 New Street, Lymington, GB - HAMPSHIRE SO4 9BJ

Mr Domenico MECCOLI, Former Director of the Venice Film Festival, Piazza di Villa Carpegna 42/A, I - 00165 ROME

Miss Lidia MIANI, European Co-ordination Bureau of International Youth Organisations; Rue de la Pacification 54, B - 1040 BRUSSELS

Mr Christian de MONTLIBERT, Lecturer in Sociology, University of Human Sciences, 22, rue Descartes, F - 67084 STRASBOURG CEDEX

Dr. Thomas RADECKI, National Coalition on TV Violence, P. O. Box 647, Decatur, USA - IL. 62521

Prof. Wolfgang SCHWEITZER, Former professor of Theology and Political Ethics, Hierholz 37, D - 7821 DACHSBERG

Mr Brian STAPLETON, Quaker Council for European Affairs, 28 avenue de la Brabançonne, B - 1040 BRUSSELS

Mr Stig SVÄRD, Former Secretary of the Swedish Video Committee, Ministry for Education, S - 103 33 STOCKHOLM

Mrs Lilian URBEN, Chairman of the Société Pédagogique Genevoise, 14, Boulevard Georges Favon, CH - 1211 GENEVA

Mr Joop VOOGD, Former Member of the Dutch Parliament and of the Committee on Culture and Education of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe; Heussenstraat 18, NL - 2023 JR HAARLEM

(c) Secretariat of the Committee on Culture and Education

Mr Gian Paolo CASTENETTO
Mr Christopher GRAYSON

CORRIGENDUM TO DOC. 5013 - E, Page 236

Add to the list of contributors:

Mrs Mary WHITEHOUSE - UK National Viewers and Listeners Association
Ardleigh, GB - COLCHESTER, Essex

COUNCIL OF EUROPE, BP 431 R6, F - 67006 STRASBOURG Cedex
(Tel.: (88) 61 49 61)